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THE STANDARD EDITION OF
THE COMPLETE PSYCHOLOGICAL WORKS
OF SIGMUND FREUD

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VOLUME IX

'GRADIVA'

THE STANDARD EDITION
OF THE COMPLETE PSYCHOLOGICAL WORKS OF

SIGMUND FREUD

Translated from the German under the General Editorship of

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In Collaboration with

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VOLUME IX

(1906–1908)

Jensen's 'Gradiva'

and

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CONTENTS

VOLUME NINE

DELUSIONS AND DREAMS IN JENSEN'S *GRADIVA* (1907 [1906])

Editor's Note *page* 3
Delusions and Dreams in Jensen's *Gradiva* 7
Postscript to the Second Edition (1912) 94

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACTS IN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS (1906) 97

Editor's Note 99
Psycho-Analysis and the Establishment of the Facts in Legal Proceedings 103

OBSESSIVE ACTIONS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES (1907) 115

THE SEXUAL ENLIGHTENMENT OF CHILDREN (1907) 129

CREATIVE WRITERS AND DAY-DREAMING (1908 [1907]) 141

HYSTERICAL PHANTASIES AND THEIR RELATION TO BISEXUALITY (1908) 155

Editor's Note 157
Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality 159

CHARACTER AND ANAL EROTISM (1908) 167

page

'CIVILIZED' SEXUAL MORALITY AND MODERN NERVOUS ILLNESS (1908) 177
Editor's Note 179
'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness 181

ON THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN (1908) 205
Editor's Note 207
On the Sexual Theories of Children 209

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON HYSTERICAL ATTACKS (1909 [1908]) 227

FAMILY ROMANCES (1909 [1908]) 235

SHORTER WRITINGS (1903–1909)

Contribution to a Questionnaire on Reading 245
Prospectus of *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* 248
Preface to Wilhelm Stekel's *Nervous Anxiety-States and their Treatment* 250
Preface to Sándor Ferenczi's *Psycho-Analysis. Essays in the Field of Psycho-Analysis* 252
Contributions to the *Neue Freie Presse* 253

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND AUTHOR INDEX 257

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 267

GENERAL INDEX 269

FRONTISPIECE 'Gradiva'
Vatican Museum. Museo Chiaramonti, Section VII/2. No 1985.

DELUSIONS AND DREAMS IN JENSEN'S *GRADIVA* (1907 [1906])

EDITOR'S NOTE

DER WAHN UND DIE TRÄUME IN W. JENSENS *GRADIVA*

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS.

1907 Leipzig and Vienna: Heller. Pp. 81. *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde*, Heft 1. Re-issued unchanged with the same title page but a new paper outer cover. Leipzig and Vienna: Deuticke, 1908.

1912 2nd ed. Leipzig and Vienna: Deuticke. With 'Postscript'. Pp. 87.

1924 3rd ed. Same publishers. Unchanged.

1925 *G.S.*, **9**, 273–367.

1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 31–125.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

Delusion and Dream

1917 New York: Moffat, Yard. Pp. 243. (Tr. H. M. Downey. (With an introduction by G. Stanley Hall. Omits Freud's 'Postscript'. Includes translation of Jensen's story.)

1921 London: George Allen & Unwin. Pp. 213. (A reprint of the above.)

The present translation is an entirely new one, with a modified title, by James Strachey. The 'Postscript' appears in English for the first time.

This was Freud's first published analysis of a work of literature apart, of course, from his comments on *Oedipus Rex* and *Hamlet* in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900*a*). *Standard Ed.*, **4**, 261–6. At an earlier date, however, he had written a short analysis of Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's story, 'Die Richterin' ['The Woman Judge'] and had sent it to

Hess, enclosed in a letter dated June 2[illegible], 1[illegible]8 Freud, *Fliess* Letter 91).

It was Jung, as we learn from Ernest Jones [illegible], who brought Jensen's book to Freud's notice and [illegible] reported to have written the present work especially to please Jung. This was in the summer of [illegible] several months before the two men had met each other, and the episode was thus the beginning of their five or six years of personal relations. Freud's study was published in May, [illegible] and soon afterwards he sent a copy of it to Jensen. A short correspondence followed, which is referred to in the Postscript to the second edition (p. 94). Jensen's side of this correspondence consists of three letters, dated May 13, May 25 and December 24 [illegible]. These have since been published in the *Internationale Revue* (1, 1, 29, 207; 2, 1, 1). The letters are most friendly in tone and give the impression that Jensen was interested by Freud's analysis of his story. He appears to have accepted the main lines of the interpretation. In particular he declares that he has for years been greatly [illegible] by dreams in the sequence which, as reported below (p. 9), he was asked, apparently by Jung, whether he knew anything of Freud's theories.

Apart from the deeper significance which Freud saw in Jensen's work, there is no doubt that he must have been specially attracted by the scene in which it was laid. His interest in Pompeii was an old-established one. It appears more than once in his correspondence with Fliess. Thus, as an association to the word *Ara*[1] in one of his dreams[2], he gives 'the street of Pompeii which I am studying'. This was on April 24, 1[illegible] (Freud [illegible], Letter [illegible]), several years before he actually visited Pompeii, in September, [illegible]. Above all Freud was fascinated by the analogy between the

[1] [illegible] Jensen [illegible] was a North German playwright and novelist respected but not [illegible] as very [illegible].

[2] See Vol. [illegible]. It is also referred to in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Standard Ed. 4, [illegible]) but the Pompeii association is not mentioned there.

historical fate of Pompeii (its burial and subsequent excavation) and the mental events with which he was so familiar—burial by repression and excavation by analysis. Something of this analogy was suggested by Jensen himself (p. 51), and Freud enjoyed elaborating it here as well as in later contexts.

In reading Freud's study, it is worth bearing in mind its chronological place in his writings as one of his earliest psycho-analytic works. It was written only a year after the first publication of the 'Dora' case history and the *Three Essays on Sexuality*. Embedded in the discussion of *Gradiva*, indeed, there lies not only a summary of Freud's explanation of dreams but also what is perhaps the first of a series of popular accounts of his theory of the neuroses and of the therapeutic action of psycho-analysis. It is impossible not to admire the almost prestidigital skill with which he extracts this wealth of material from what is at first sight no more than an ingenious anecdote.[1] But it would be wrong to minimize the part played in the outcome, however unconsciously, by Jensen himself.

[1] In his *Autobiographical Study* (1925*d*, *Standard Ed.*, **20**, 65) Freud spoke a little contemptuously of *Gradiva* as a work 'which has no particular merit in itself'.

DELUSIONS AND DREAMS IN JENSEN'S *GRADIVA*

I

A group of men who regarded it as a settled fact that the essential problems of dreams have been solved by the efforts of the author of the present work found their curiosity one day aroused by the question of the class of dreams that have never been dreamt at all—dreams created by imaginative writers and ascribed to invented characters in the course of a story. The notion of submitting this class of dreams to an investigation might seem a waste of energy and a strange thing to undertake; but from one point of view it could be considered justifiable. It is far from being generally believed that dreams have a meaning and can be interpreted. Science and the majority of educated people smile if they are set the task of interpreting a dream. Only the common people, who cling to superstitions and who on this point are carrying on the convictions of antiquity, continue to insist that dreams can be interpreted. The author of *The Interpretation of Dreams* has ventured, in the face of the reproaches of strict science, to become a partisan of antiquity and superstition. He is, it is true, far from believing that dreams foretell the future, for the unveiling of which men have vainly striven from time immemorial by every forbidden means. But even he has not been able entirely to reject the relation of dreams to the future. For the dream, when the laborious work of translating it had been accomplished, revealed itself to him as a wish of the dreamer's represented as fulfilled; and who could deny that wishes are predominantly turned towards the future?

I have just said that dreams are fulfilled wishes.[1] Anyone who is not afraid of making his way through an abstruse book, and who does not insist on a complicated problem being

[1] See Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900a).

represented to him as easy and simple in order to save time and at the cost of honesty and truth—may be [illegible] detail of the process in the work I have now to do. Meanwhile let us set on one side the objection which we understandably object to [illegible] against equating dreams and wish-fulfilments.

But we have gone a long way ahead. It is not a question yet of establishing whether the meaning of a dream can always be referred to a hoped-for event, or whether it may not just as often stand for fear, anxiety, expectation, an intent or a reflection, and so on. On the contrary, the question that first arises is whether dreams have a meaning at all, whether they ought to be assessed as mental events. Science answers to [illegible] dreaming as a purely physiological process, bound with [illegible], there is no need to look for sense, meaning or purpose. Some stimulation, so it says, plays upon the nerve instrument during sleep and thus brings to consciousness now one idea and now another, robbed of all mental coherence. Dreams are comparable only to twitchings, not to expressive movements of the mind.

Now in this dispute as to the esteem in which dreams should be held imaginative writers seem to be on the same side as the ancients as the superstitious public and as the author of *The Interpretation of Dreams*. For when an author makes his characters constructed by his imagination dream, he knows the everyday experience that people's thoughts and feelings are continued in sleep and he aims at nothing else than to depict his heroes' states of mind by their dreams. But creative writers are valuable allies and their evidence is to be prized highly, for they are apt to know a whole host of things between heaven and earth of which our philosophy has not yet let us dream. In their knowledge of the mind they are far in advance of us everyday people, for they draw upon sources which we have not yet opened up for science. If only this support given by writers in favour of dreams having a meaning were less ambiguous! A strictly critical eye might object that writers take their stand neither for nor

against particular dreams having a psychological meaning they are content to show how the shocking material twitches under the existing censorship and has remained almost as obscure as facts of waking life.

But even this suffering though it does not damp our interest in the fascinating problem which writers make use of dreams. Even if the psychologist should teach us nothing new about the nature of dreams it may perhaps help us to gain a deeper insight into the nature of creative writing. Real dreams were already regarded as unrestrained and unregulated productions, now we are confronted by unfettered imitations of these dreams! There is far less freedom and arbitrariness in mental life, however, than we are inclined to assume—there may even be more at all. What we call chance in the world of science can, as is well known, be resolved into laws. So, too, what we call arbitrariness in the mind rests upon laws which we are only now beginning dimly to suspect. Let us, then, see what we find.

There are two methods that we might adopt for this enquiry. One would be to enter deeply into a particular case such as the dream-creations of some author in one of his works. The other would be to bring together and contrast all the examples that could be found of the use of dreams in the works of different authors. The second method would seem to be far the more effective and perhaps it is just fate that one for it frees us at once from the difficulties involved in adopting the artist's conceit of 'writers' as a class. On investigation this class falls apart into its various writers of the most various worth, among whom we are accustomed to honour as the deepest observers of the human mind. In what follows, however, these pages will be devoted to an enquiry of the first sort. It happened that in the group of men among whom the notion first arose there was one who recalled to the work of one author that had just caught his fancy; there were several dreams which had, as it were, obtruded themselves and invited him to attempt

[This was Jung. See the Editor's Note above, p. 4.]

to apply to them the method of *The Interpretation of Dreams*. He confessed that the subject-matter of the entire work and the scene in which it was laid may even almost have played the chief part in creating his enthusiasm. For the story was set in the frame of Pompeii and dealt with a young archaeologist who had surrendered his interest in life in exchange for an interest in the remains of classical antiquity and who was now brought back to real life by a roundabout path which was strange but perfectly logical. During the treatment of this genuinely poetic material the reader had been stirred by an instinct of thought to assent to it and in harmony with it. The work was a short tale by Wilhelm Jensen—*Gradiva*—which its author himself described as a 'Pompeian phantasy'.

And now I ought properly to ask all my readers to put aside this present essay and instead to spend some time in acquainting themselves with *Gradiva*, which is to be obtained at the booksellers in full—so that what I refer to in the following pages may be familiar to them. But for the benefit of those who have already read *Gradiva* I will recall the substance of the story in a brief summary, and I shall count upon their memories to restore to it all the charm of which this treatment will deprive it.[1]

A young archaeologist, Norbert Hanold, had discovered in a museum of antiquities in Rome a relief which had so immensely attracted him that he was greatly pleased at obtaining an excellent plaster cast of it which he could hang in his study in a German university town and gaze at with interest. The sculpture represented a full-grown girl stepping along with her flowing dress a little pulled up so as to reveal her sandalled feet. One foot rested squarely on the ground, the other, lifted from the ground in the act of following after, touched it only with the tips of the toes, while the sole and heel rose at most perfect angles. It was probably the unusual and peculiarly charming gait thus presented that attracted the sculptor's notice and that still, after so many centuries, riveted the eyes of its archaeological admirer.

[1] See the frontispiece of this volume.

[illegible]

[illegible] references to Jensen, *Gradiva*, 1903.]

[illegible] explained below, on p. 50.]

[illegible]

the sculptor in a life-like manner. He found that he himself was not capable of drawing right; and in his quest for the 'remedy' of this gift he was led to make observations of his own in the mirror in order to clear the matter up. He has, however, forced himself into a course of behaviour that was quite foreign to him. Hitherto the female sex had been to him no more than the concept of something made of marble or bronze; and he had never paid the slightest attention to its contemporary representatives. Social duties had always seemed to him an unavoidable nuisance. He saw and heard young ladies whom he came across in society so little that when he must meet them he would pass them by without a sign and look, of course, quite through their impersonation. Now, however, the sculptor's task which he had taken on compelled him to study more accurately in wet weather the shape of the stockings which the young girls in the Pompeii streets wore, and also to observe the sandals which they had on their feet, and the way in which the folds of their garments fell.

Some such thoughts he had after having dreamt a terrifying dream in which he found himself in ancient Pompeii at the moment of the eruption of Vesuvius as an eye-witness of the catastrophe. As he was standing at the edge of the forum beside the Temple of Jupiter[1] he suddenly saw Gradiva at no great distance from him. He called to her and noticed that his presence, but she turned to him and at once, as though it were something quite natural, that since she was a Pompeian she was using her native tongue and *it should be having a pleasant thing as to converse*.[2] Instead of the latter she now began to speak Latin; after a warning gesture with her hand to the girl as she herself stepped among, turned her face towards him. But she then proceeded on her way undisturbed, until she reached the portico of the temple, there she took her seat on one of

[1] [The Temple of Apollo.]

for her as someone who was lost.

for it soon presented itself even though the impulse to make the journey had arisen from a feeling he could not name. (24.)

Let us pause for a moment at this journey, planned for such a remote and strange reason, and take a closer look at Gradiva's personality as it has revealed itself to us so far. Her step has been described to us as light and elastic, and we have noted how her pose and gait have aroused our sympathy. It is a rare privilege to be allowed to observe such a woman. Her carriage and bearing have already given us a clue to her character, and we are ready to find in her features the expression of the qualities we have learned to admire. Marble and bronze are the materials which have been chosen to express the plastic beauty of the human body, but we are not accustomed to look for a correspondingly beautiful expression in the face. Whether this has been due to the fact that the sculptor's art has been unable to reproduce the delicate play of the features, or whether it is because the artist has been content to represent the human body as a work of nature, we do not know. But we do know that the face of a statue is usually cold and expressionless, and that it is only in relief representing a group of figures that we find the face endowed with a more animated expression. Gradiva's face was not cold and expressionless, for it was in relief, representing a group of figures, and yet it was not animated. Her face was beautiful, but it was the beauty of a mask. Her features were regular, but they were not individualized. Her face was beautiful, but it was the beauty of the ideal. Her face was not that of a living woman, but of a dead woman, a woman who had been dead for many centuries. Her face was the face of the ideal Gradiva, not of a living woman. Such people as these, we should think, are not worth knowing and inexplicable if we met them in someone's real life. Since our

hero Norbert Hanold is a fictitious person we may perhaps put a similar question to his author, and ask whether his choice was determined by recollections of an actual model or his own arbitrary choice.

We are left in no doubt at the outset that Hanold was apparently being led by the strong [illegible] journey to Italy, the purpose of which was not clear to him. We can [illegible] power [illegible] and dissatisfaction [illegible] Naples [illegible] and was [illegible] 'Arc' [illegible] but was [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and most [illegible] trips to Italy are, in a way [illegible] Having been diverted [illegible] by the proximity of a living [illegible] he hurried to Naples [illegible] Having entered [illegible] of these pursuits [illegible] ruins of Pompeii, but were [illegible] departure [illegible] intentions' in Pompeii.

But [illegible] in search of [illegible] the part which [illegible] with honeymoon couples who had troubled his solitude and harassed his eyes was now taken over [illegible] in order to regard [illegible] even and unnecessary. The two sorts of tormenting spirits

[illegible] at the [illegible] those [illegible] late Victorian age.]

moved to a certain scene of the pairs of flies reminded him of the lovers, and he suspected that they too were addressing each other in the language of desire. Edwin was thinking Angelus. Even as he did not but realize that his interest in them was not caused only by his surroundings but that its source was in part derived from within himself.[1] He felt that he was distracted because he felt something through it was not clear to him what.

Next morning he passed through the *Foro* into Pompeii, and after going round the guide-stroked aimlessly through the streets without strange enough remembering that only a few days before he had been present at the last throes of this city. Wandering at the hot and heavy noon hour, when even the lizards regarded as the lair of ghosts shutter windows and take refuge, the steps of ruins as before and desolate and buried in such he found that he was once more carried back into the state that had been his when he was to help discover. What strange was a way of looking at things, and what a dead, prehistorical language had come to the point of understanding! Indeed the secret of the heart pulsates as much as ever. Whoever has been in the presence of the lava among the relics of the past and look, but not with bodily eyes, and listen, but not with bodily ears. And then the dead wakened and [illegible] were more.

What was it that brought the past with its magnificence, the splendour of the Caesars to the Gradiva of its present? Was it the sun that streamed down over the ruins, stopping short at the entrance of the street, as if he had seen her descend in the noon-tide glow when she had first shown herself to the steps of the Temple of Venus. And [illegible] something else and more besides, for the first time was he aware of the presence of the woman that he had come to love and had

[1] [*Gradiva*, 5]]

traveled on to Pompeii without stopping in Rome or Naples, in order to see whether he could find any traces of her. And 'traces' literally, for with her peculiar gait she must have left behind an imprint of her toes in the ashes distinct from all the rest." (58.)

At this point the tension in which the author has hitherto held us grows for a moment into a painful sense of bewilderment. It is not only our hero who has evidently lost his balance, we too have lost our bearings in the face of the apparition of Gradiva, who was first a marble figure and then an imaginary one. Is she a hallucination of our hero, led astray by his delusions? Is she a 'real' ghost or a living person? Not that we need believe in ghosts when we draw up this list. The author, who has called his story a "phantasy," has found no occasion so far for informing us whether he intends to leave us in our world, decried for being prosaic and governed by the laws of science, or whether he wishes to transport us into another and imaginary world, in which spirits and ghosts are given reality. As we know from the examples of *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, we are prepared to follow him there without hesitation. In that case the imaginative archaeologist's delusion would have to be measured by another standard. Indeed, when we consider how improbable it must be that a real person could exist who bore an exact resemblance to the antique sculpture, our list of alternatives shrinks to two: a hallucination or a midday ghost. A small detail in the account soon cancels the first possibility. A large lizard was lying motionless, stretched out in the sunshine, but fled at the approach of Gradiva's foot and darted away across the lava paving-stones. So it was no hallucination, but something outside our dreamer's mind. But could the reality of a *rediviva* startle a lizard?

Gradiva had disappeared in front of the House of Meleager. We shall not be surprised to hear that Norbert Hanold pursues his delusion that Pompeii had come to life around him

at the mid-day hour of ghosts and supposed that Gradiva too had come to life again and had entered the house in which she had lived before the fatal August day in 79 A.D. Ingenious speculations upon the personality of its owner after whom the house was probably named, and upon Gradiva's relations with him, shot through his head, and proved that his science was now completely in the service of his imagination. He entered the house, and suddenly found the apparition once more sitting on some low steps between two yellow columns. 'There was something white stretched out across her knees; he could not clearly discern what it was; it seemed to be a sheet of papyrus.' On the basis of his latest theories of inscription he addressed her in Greek, and was thereupon requested to learn whether, in her pharaonic presence, she possessed the power of speech. She also made no reply; he addressed her instead in Latin. Then with a smile on her lips: 'If you want to speak to me', she said, 'you must go back to German.'

What a humiliation for us readers! So the author has been making fun of us, and with the help, as it were, of a reflection of the Pompeian sunshine, has invented as much a delusion on a small scale, so that we may be forced to pass a stronger judgement on the poor wretch on whom the noonday sun was really shining. Now, however, that we have been cured of our brief confusion, we know that Gradiva was a German girl of flesh and blood, a solution which we were instructed to reject as the most improbable one. And now, with a quiet sense of superiority, we may wish to learn what the relation was between the girl and her marble image, and how our young archæologist arrived at the phantasies which pointed towards her real personality.

But our hero was not torn from his delusion as quickly as we have been for, as the author tells us, 'though his dream made him happy he had to take the acceptance of quite a considerable number of mysteries into the bargain'. For

Moreover, this delusion probably had several roots in him of which we know nothing and which do not exist in ourselves. In this case, no doubt, energetic treatment would seem necessary [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] experience [illegible] Gradiva [illegible] with the rest [illegible] dead [illegible] than a particular guest who has returned [illegible] glass [illegible] But why was it that, after hearing her reply answered in German, he exclaimed, "I knew your voice sounded like that"? Not only he, but [illegible] reader, too, was bound to ask the question [illegible] He [illegible] that he had never heard it [illegible] in his dream, when he [illegible] her [illegible] temple steps. He begged her to do [illegible] the same [illegible] as she [illegible] then, but now she rose, gave him a strange look, and in a few paces disappeared between the [illegible] court. A pretty butterfly had shortly before fluttered around her for a while, and he interpreted it as a messenger from Hades reminding the dead girl that she must return, since the mid-day hour of ghosts was at an end. He [illegible] to call after the girl as she vanished, "Will you return here to-morrow [illegible]" [illegible] now [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] have known [illegible] the [illegible] nature [illegible] his [illegible] in her [illegible] eyes [illegible] its [illegible]?"

After Gradiva's [illegible] departure [illegible] at all the guests congregated for the midday meal at the Hotel Diomede and went [illegible] the same at the Hotel Suisse and he was then able to feel assured that in neither of the only two hotels known to him in Pompeii was there anyone bearing the remotest resemblance to Gradiva. He would of course have rejected as nonsensical the idea that he

[illegible] the two met. And [illegible] Norbert [illegible] Zoë [illegible] the day

[illegible] day one thing was fixed that [illegible] the House of Meleager [illegible] and [illegible] moment he [illegible] [illegible] over the [illegible] [illegible] Zoë [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

showed herself ready to [illegible] ed [illegible] returned [illegible] for a few short hours

We are beginning to understand now [illegible] If the young lady in whose form [illegible] again accepted Hanold's [illegible] being so in order [illegible] free from [illegible]

other way of doing so to contradict it would have put an end to any such possibility. Even the serious treatment of a real case of illness of the kind could proceed in no other way than to begin by taking up the same ground as the delusional structure and then investigating it as completely as possible. If Zoë was the right person for the job, we should learn no doubt how to cure a dream-like error such as our hero's. We should also be glad to know how such delusions arise. It would be a strange coincidence, but, nevertheless, not without an example or parallel, if the treatment of the delusion were to coincide with its investigation and if the explanation of its origin were to be revealed precisely when it was no longer needed. We may suspect, of course, that if so or even if illness might end up as a commonplace love story, the healing power of love against a delusion is not to be discussed [illegible] it was not one of these considerations for his Gradiva sculpture a complete instance of being in love through having fallen in love with something past and lifeless?

After Gradiva's disappearance there was only a distant sound like the laughing call of a bird flying over the ruined city. The young man, now by himself, picked up a white object that had been left behind by Gradiva. It was not a sheet of papyrus but a sketch-book with pencil drawings of various scenes in Pompeii. We should be inclined to regard her having forgotten the book here as a pledge of her return for it is our belief that no one forgets anything without some secret reason or hidden motive.

The remainder of the day spent at Hotel Diomed all manner of strange discoveries and confirmations which he failed to synthesize into a whole. He perceives today in the wall of the portico where Gradiva had vanished a narrow gap which was wide enough, however, to allow a supreme unusual slim to pass through it. He recognized that Zoë-Gradiva need not have sunk into the earth here—an idea which now seemed to him so unreasonable that he felt ashamed of having once believed it—she might well have used the gap as a way

[illegible]

sympathetic couple from the previous evening. But their behaviour now did not seem to fit a brother and sister; their embrace and their kiss seemed to him to last too long. So after all they were a pair of lovers, presumably a young honeymoon couple, yet another Edwin and Angelina. Curiously enough, however, this time the sight of them caused him only satisfaction, and with a sense of awe, as though he had interrupted some secret act of devotion, he withdrew unnoticed. An attitude of reverent attentiveness, which he had long been without, had returned to him.

When he reached the house of Meleager, he was once more seized by such a violent fear of finding Gradiva [illegible] when she appeared [illegible] words that he heard or spoke were: "Are you alive?" It was [illegible] that she had answered [illegible] He [illegible] latest [illegible] she was the girl [illegible] who owned the green clasp [illegible] workers, [illegible] sun [illegible] perfect teeth shining [illegible] through the crust. "I feel as though we had [illegible] once before two thousand years ago. [illegible]" He [illegible] presence in his head [illegible] about [illegible] she gave of her actual presence [illegible] him. Resuming an [illegible] Gradiva [illegible] though [illegible] and that she herself had just said that she had shared a meal with him two

thousand years ago. As a means of setting the contact an experiment suggested itself at once, carried out craftily and with repeated courage. Her left hand, with its delicate fingers, was resting on her knees and one of the house-flies whose impertinence at that season has so much roused his indignation settled on it. Suddenly Hanold's hand was raised in the air and descended with a vigorous slap on the fly and Gradiva's hand.

This bold experiment had two results: first a mental conviction that it was without any doubt a real, living, warm human hand, but afterwards a surprise that made him jump up in a fright from his seat on the steps. For, from Gradiva's lips, when she had recovered from her astonishment, there rang out these words: "There's no cause to put yourself out of your mind, Norbert Hanold!" As everyone knows, the best method of waking a sleeper or a sleep-walker is to call him by his own name. But quickly there was no time for observing the effects produced on Norbert Hanold by Gradiva's using his name, which he had not mentioned in Pompeii. For at this instant the sun broke through the clouds, the palm-trees from the *Casa del Fauno* appeared, and the young lady exclaimed in a tone of great surprise: "Zoë! You here too? And on your honeymoon, like us! You never wrote me a word about it. In face of this new existence of Gradiva's Hanold took flight.

Nor was Zoë-Gradiva very much surprised by the unexpected visit when it occurred to her that she was apparently an important task. But quickly pulling herself together and making a fresh appeal to her self-control she explained to Gradiva that she had come in order to help us and was now engaged to get rid of the young couple. Steele greatly astonished them but she was [illegible] "The young man who's just gone off is suffering like you, under a remarkable aberration. He seems to think there's a fly buzzing round his head. Well, I expect everyone has some sort of mania there. It's my duty to know something about entomology, so I can help [illegible] Mr

father and I are staying at the Sole. Something got into his head to-day, and the brilliant idea occurred to him because of bringing me here with the unexpected result that I amused myself immensely at Pompeii and made myself quite extraordinarily kind to him. I feel myself standing out something interesting here even by myself. Of course I haven't counted on making the least trouble. I mean not to know anything at all.' Let him now, she added, she must hurry out so as to be company for her mother at his Lunch in the 'Sun.' And she departed, after having uttered these frivolous asides of the daughter of the young stay-at-home father and after having by all kinds of extravagant remarks, accounted for the therapeutic intentions of her secret disguise as well.

The direction she took, however, was not towards the Hotel del Sole, where her father was waiting for her. But it seemed to her to be as though a shadowy form was seeking its grave near the Via di Mercurio, and was vanishing beneath one of the moss-tufts. And for that reason she turned her steps towards the Street of the Tombs, with her feet almost performing that duty at each step. It was to this same place that Hanold had fled in his shame and confusion. He would ceaselessly up and down in the portion of the cemetery assigned to the task of disposing of the remains of its problematic and unfortunate effort. One thing had become unspeakably clear to him: that he had been totally without sense or reason in believing that he had been addressing with a living girl a person who had come to life again in a more or less physical sense. It could not be supposed that this fact was yet known to her. It was an essential step forward on his road back to a sound understanding. But, on the other hand, this living woman, with whom other people carried on as though she were as [illegible] to all appearances was Gradiva, and she knew his name, and her presence awakened reason was not strong enough to resist such a fact. He was hardly courageous enough, either, to show himself capable of facing so hard a task, for he would have preferred to have been home along with the

rest two thousand years before in the Villa of Diomedes so as to be quite certain of not meeting Zoe-Gradiva again.

Nevertheless, a violent desire to see her again struggled against what was left of the reasonable to-night's meeting in him.

As he turned one of the four corners of the cemetery, he suddenly recognized on a broken fragment of masonry was sitting one of the girls who had passed here on the Villa of Diomedes. This, however, was the last attempt quickly recognized as being the real Zoe Bertgang who, however, to come to see him the first time after her treatment. She quite correctly interpreted his expressive movements and stepped over the low wall. She was then that it was impossible for him to run away, for a tall gentleman of rather fatal beginning Norbert stood and began to excuse himself for asking [illegible] to speak to her, trying to do with the very best intentions, but had not the courage to make use of a particular [illegible] had the courage for something more important than asking her the decisive question.

As soon as I was [illegible], I said I was ashamed to apologize for creating me and [illegible] to assure me I should be so glad [illegible] other way as to be able to [illegible] address to me by my own name."[1]

[illegible] Hanold [illegible] I suppose [illegible] me to go [illegible] stairs, and you could [illegible] miles nearer home.

[1] "The pronoun in the second person singular [illegible] what I knew was necessary [illegible] I [illegible] Hanold, I would have used the second person singular [illegible] doubt as to whether it would be the wisest course. Norbert [illegible] was [illegible] realize that [illegible] for, he [illegible] the second person singular was [illegible] a feeling that Gradiva on the other hand has [illegible] sung out through [illegible] speaking to [illegible]

'A hundred miles nearer,' she explained, as he still failed to grasp her meaning, 'diagonally across the street from where you live—in the house on the corner. There's a cage on my window with a canary in it.'

These last words, as he heard them, affected him like a distant memory. That must have been the same bird whose song had given him the idea of his journey to Italy.

'My father lives in that house—the Professor of Zoology, Richard Bertgang.'

So since she was his neighbour, she knew him by sight and by name. We feel a sense of disappointment: the solution of this riddle is flat and seems unworthy of our expectations.

Norbert Hanold showed that he had not yet regained his independence of thought when he rejoined: 'So you—you are Fräulein Zoë Bertgang? But she looked quite different.'

Frau Zoë Bertgang's answer shows us that all the same there had been other relations between the two of them besides their simply being neighbours. She could argue in favour of the familiar *du*, which he had used naturally to the mid-day ghost but had drawn back from in speaking to the living girl, but on behalf of which she claimed ancient rights. 'If you find this formal mode of address more suitable, I can use it too. But I and the other comes to my lips more naturally. I don't know if I looked different in the early days when we used to run about together in a friendly way or sometimes, by way of a change, used to bump and thump each other. But if you had even once looked at me attentively in recent years, it might have dawned on you that I've looked like this for quite a time.'

So there had been a childhood friendship between them.

[1] *Sie*, the German pronoun of the third person plural, which is always used in formal speech instead of the *du* of the second person singular.]

[2] From this point to the middle of her next speech Zoë uses, as will be seen, the *du* she rebels. Zoë makes a valiant attempt to use the formal 'Sie'.]

perhaps a childhood love which justifies the title. This solution, it must be admitted, [illegible] we first expected. We are brought [illegible] however, when we realize that this [illegible] expected [illegible] a number of details about what had happened [illegible] contemporary [illegible] later, for [illegible] the sketching of Zoe [illegible] Norbert Hanold [illegible] convincing reason for [illegible] the necessity [illegible] experimental answer [illegible] reasons. But [illegible] at the same time [illegible] a revival [illegible] before [illegible] triumph [illegible] demeanor [illegible] was [illegible] by Zoe's [illegible]. And think [illegible] Gradiva asked the archaeologist whether [illegible] not seen [illegible] that she [illegible] two thousand years before. This [illegible] seems to have a sense [illegible] just by the person [illegible] the girl [illegible] that [illegible] the young [illegible] appeared to have forgotten. Now the discovery [illegible] as [illegible] young archaeologist's [illegible] tasies [illegible] have been an echo of [illegible] forgotten childhood memories. [illegible] were [illegible] of his imagination [illegible] without his knowing [illegible] the store of childhood impressions which he had forgotten, but which were still at work. It should be possible for us to show the origin of the phantasies in detail even though we can only guess at them. He imagined, for instance, that Gradiva must be of Greek origin and that she was the daughter of a respected personage, a priest of Ceres, perhaps. This seems to fit in pretty well with his knowing that she bore the Greek name of Zoe and that she belonged to the family of a Professor of Zoology. But if Hanold's phantasies were transformed memories, we may expect to find an indication of the source of these phantasies in the information given us by Zoe Bertgang. Let us listen to what she has to say. She has told us of their intimate friendship in their childhood, and we shall now

hear of the further course taken by this childhood relationship.

At that time, as a matter of fact, up to about the age when, I do not know why, people begin to call us '*Backfisch*',[1] I had grown accustomed to being remarkably dependent on you and however I could power in the world find a more agreeable friend I have no brother or sister or brother, my father found a [illegible] more interesting than me, however, no and I no longer must have *something* to [illegible] their thoughts with whatever was going with them I but was what you were then. Between and [illegible] I [illegible] your [illegible] and, [illegible] with what I want express I was [illegible] [illegible] person who [illegible] as I was concerned no longer [illegible] [illegible] or any [illegible] [illegible] we were [illegible] No doubt that was why I looked different [illegible] when from time to time I met you in [illegible] by and one as reserved as last winter [illegible] I see not studiously did I hear you say a word. Not that there was any compulsion for me in that for you treated everyone else alike. I was then air for you, and you with your air of haughtiness that I so trampled for you often enough in the past you were as cold, as stand-up and as tongue-tied as a stuffed cockatoo and at the same time as grave-like as an *archaeopteryx*. Yes, that's right, that's what they call the antediluvian bird monstrosity we've dug up. Only there was one thing I couldn't suspected that there was an extinct grandeur perhaps lodged in your breast of which you came to me as Pompeii as something that had been dug up and come to life again. And when all at once there you were

[1] [literally 'baker's fish'. The common German slang term equivalent to 'flapper' or 'teenager'.]

[2] [From this point onwards the heroine reverts to '*du*'.]

standing in front of me quite unexpectedly, it took me quite a lot of trouble at first to make out what an incredible cobweb your imagination had spun in your brain. After that it amused me and quite pleased me, in spite of its lunacy. For, as I told you, I hadn't suspected it of you.'

[illegible]

is, we might say, a compromise idea or an intermediate idea in which not the girl but the girl as he took of the man she loved with the analogous thought about her father.

With the young man things had taken a different turn. Archæology took leave of him and left him with his interest only in women of marble and bronze. His childhood friendship instead of being strongly heterosexual was a passion with severe and unmistakable homosexual features and deep unconsciousness. [illegible] recognize [illegible] powerful enough to make him welcome the new experience. I suspect that when we look further we must decide whether [illegible] the correct psychological description [illegible] these memories under young adult [illegible] There is a kind of repressing which is designed to [illegible] with which the memory is awakened even [illegible] powerful external [illegible] as though some internal resistance were struggling against its revival. A forgetting of this kind has been given the name of 'repression' in psychopathology, and the case which the author has worked up as serves as an example of this repression. Now we do not know whether the forgetting of the repression [illegible] its memory traces in the mind, but we can assert quite definitely of repression that it does not come to the destruction or extinction of the memory. What is repressed cannot resist any [illegible] makes us wish to remember with more ado [illegible] to remain capable for effective action and under the influence of some external event it may one day [illegible] be revived. Those processes which can be regarded as precursors of a conversion of the repressed memories and derivatives of it and which remain unnoticed by us less we take this view of them. We have [illegible] seemed to recognize in Norbert Hanold's processes about Gradiva the derivatives of his repressed memories of his childhood friendship with Zoe

[illegible] see *The Interpretation of Dreams* [illegible] and Supplement [illegible]

misquoted in the German editions.

repressed, and how even trivial similarities suffice for the repressed to emerge behind the repressing force and take effect by means of it. I once had under medical treatment a young man—he was still almost a boy—who, after he had first unwillingly become acquainted with the processes of sex, had taken flight from every sexual desire that arose in him. For this purpose he made use of various methods of repression, but principally his zeal in learning, exaggerated his dependence on his mother, and in general asexual traits in his character. I will not here enter into the manner in which his repressed sexuality broke through once more precisely in his relation to his mother. I will describe a rarer and stranger instance of how another of his childhood's occupations on an occasion when one could scarcely be regarded as sufficiently Machiavellian was the greatest temptation that assailed him from sexuality. This had been the very advice to which Jean-Jacques Rousseau was obliged to listen from a lover who was dissatisfied with him. I ascribe the dumbness of this memory to the fact that he threw himself with special eagerness into the mathematics and geometry which he was taught at school, for suddenly one day his powers of comprehension were put to the test in connection with some particularly innocent problems. It was possible to establish two of these problems: 'Two bodies come together, one with a speed of . . . etc.' and 'On a cylinder, the character of whose surface is not described, a cone . . . etc.' Other people would certainly not have regarded these as very striking allusions to sexual events, but he felt that he had been betrayed by mathematics as well and took flight from it too.

If Norbert Hanold were some one in real life who had in this way . . . developed his childhood from step to step with the help of fairy-tale memory, I would have been inspired by a strong temptation to believe that what revealed itself in the forgotten memories of the young archæologist could be precisely an erotic complex. It would have been a new and unexpected fate to fall in love with the marble portrait of Gradiva, but no

[Gave up women and study for mathematics.]

which, owing to an unexplained similarity, the Living Zoe whom he had neglected made her influence felt

Frauken Zoe seems herself to have shared our view of the young archaeologist's delusion, for the satisfaction she expressed at the end of her frank, detailed and instructive speech of castigation could scarcely have been based on anything but a recognition that from the very first his interest in Gradiva had related to herself. It was *this* which she had not expected of him, but which in spite of all its delusional disguise she saw for what it was. The psychical treatment she had carried out, however, had now accomplished its beneficent effect on him. He felt free, for his delusion had now been replaced by the taking of which it could only have been a distorted and inadequate copy. Nor did she any longer hesitate to remember her part to recognize her as the kind, cheerful, clever playmate who in essentials was not in any way changed. But he found something else very strange.

'You mean', said he at length, 'the fact of someone having to die so as to come alive', but no doubt that must be so for archaeologists.' [1] Evidently she had not forgiven him yet for the roundabout path by way of archaeology which he had followed from their childhood friendship to the new relation that was forming.

'No, I mean your name. Because "Bertgang" means the same as "Gradiva" and describes someone "who steps along brilliantly".' [1] (142.)

We ourselves were unprepared for this. Our hero was beginning to cast off his humanity and to play an active part. Evidently he was completely cured of his delusion and had risen above it, and he proved this by himself tearing the last threads of the cobweb of his delusion. This, too, is just how patients behave when one has loosened the compulsion of their delusional thoughts by revealing the repressed material.

[1] The German text 'Du hast ja Gradiva so ganz wie sie heißt, nämlich sie geht so ganz wie sie soll' is based on Scotland slang.

[illegible] behind them. Once they have understood, they themselves bring forward the solution of the final and most important [illegible] strange [illegible] in a number of [illegible] as occur to them. We have already guessed that the Greek original of the imaginary Gradiva was an obscure [illegible] of the Greek name Zoe. But we have not yet [illegible] to explain the name Gradiva itself and had let it pass as the [illegible] of the author of Norbert Hanold's imagination. But, and behold, that very name now turns out to have been a [illegible] and a translation of the mysterious surname of the girl he had loved in the old days when he was supposed to have forgotten.

In the [illegible] of the [illegible] were now [illegible]. What the author now adds is no doubt designed to serve as a [illegible] to his story. We [illegible] to [illegible] when we hear that the young [illegible] who has never been [illegible] to play the [illegible] part in a serious [illegible] treatment, although she [illegible] in her [illegible] recovery, succeeded in [illegible] her secret [illegible] by her whole behaviour before [illegible] it was [illegible] to her [illegible] by making [illegible] that [illegible] only when [illegible] previously [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] Norbert Hanold, and by [illegible] that she has been the first woman for whom he had felt a very great liking. Whereupon Zoe proceeds to take [illegible] of Gradiva, remarking that everything has now returned to reason, she [illegible] at least he could look up to Gisa Hirtsfeld or whatever she was now called again and give her some scientific assistance over the purposes of her visit to Pompeii. She herself, however, must go back to the Albergo del Sole where her father was expecting her for [illegible] per [illegible] they would meet again sometime at a party [illegible] to be given. But [illegible] was able to make the [illegible] by an excuse for taking possession first of her lunch and then of her lips and to set in motion the [illegible] which is a man's inevitable duty in love-making. Once only a shadow seemed to fall on their

happiness, when Zoe reminds him that now she really must go back to her father or he will starve at the Sun. "Your father—what was he going to——?" But the clever girl was able to silence quickly this concern. "Probably nothing will happen. I am not an indispensable part of his zoological collection. If I had been, perhaps I should not have been so foolish as to give my heart to you." In the exceptional event, however, of her father taking a different view from hers, there was a safe expedient. He need only go to Capri, catch a *Lacerta faraglionensis* there, the technique of which he could practise on her little finger, set the creature free over here, catch it again before the zoologist's eyes and let him choose between a *faraglionensis* on the mainland and his daughter. The scheme, it is easy to see, was one in which the mockery was tinged with bitterness; it was a warning, as it were, to her fiancé not to keep too closely to the model on which she had chosen him. Here again Norbert Hanold reassures us by showing by various signs apparently small the great transformation that has taken place in him. He proposed that he and his Zoe should make their wedding journey to Italy and to Pompeii, just as if he had never been enraged at the wedding-travelling Augusts and Gretes. He had completely lost from his memory his feelings against those happy pairs who had so unnecessarily travelled more than a thousand miles from their German home. The author is certainly right in representing such a weakening of memory as the most trustworthy sign of a change of attitude. Zoe's reply to the plan for the scene of their honeymoon, suggested by her childhood friend who had also in a sense been buried under the débris again, was that she did not feel quite alive enough yet to make a geographical decision of that sort.

The delusion had now been conquered by a beautiful reality, but before the lovers left Pompeii, it was still to be honored once again. When they reached the Herculanean Gate, where, at the entrance to the Via Consolare, the street is crossed by some ancient stepping stones, Norbert

Hanold paused and asked the girl to go ahead of him. She understood him and, pulling up her dress a little with her left hand, Zoe Bertgang, Gradiva *redivia*, walked past. Held in his eyes, which seemed to gaze as though in a dream, so, with her quietly tripping gait, she stepped through the sunlight over the stepping stones to the other side of the street." With the triumph of love, what was beautiful and precious in the delusion found recognition as well.

In his last smile, however —of the childhood friend who had been dug out of the ruins"— the author has presented us with the key to the symbolism of which the hero's delusion made use in disguising his repressed memory. There is, in fact, no better analogy for repression, by which something in the mind is at once made inaccessible and preserved, than burial of the sort to which Pompeii fell a victim and from which it could emerge once more through the work of spades. Thus it was that the young archaeologist was obliged in his phantasy to transport to Pompeii the original of the relief which reminded him of the object of his youthful love. The author was well justified, indeed, in lingering over the valuable similarity which his delicate sense had perceived between a particular mental process in the individual and an isolated historical event in the history of mankind.[1]

[1] [Freud himself adopted the fate of Pompeii as a simile for repression in more than one later passage. See, for instance, the 'Rat Man' case history (1909*d*), written not long after the present work, *Standard Ed.*, **10**, 176–7.]

II

But actually, what we really intended to do originally was only to investigate two or three dreams that are to be found here and there in *Gradiva* with the help of certain analytic methods. How has it come about, then, that we have been led into dissecting the whole story at length, studying the mental processes in the two chief characters? This has in fact been an unnecessary piece of work, but was an essential preliminary. It is equally the case that when we try to interpret some one else's dreams, if a real person we have to concern ourselves intensively with his character and his career, and we must get to know not only his experiences worthy to be recalled but also those trifling fragments that have sunk into the past. It is even by no means infrequently the case that we are summoned first to turn to our proper task, but that we must linger a little more over the story itself and carry out some further preliminary work.

My readers will no doubt have been puzzled, not to say annoyed, so far I have treated Norbert Hanold and Zoe Bertgang in all their psychical manifestations and activities, as though they were real people and not the author's creations, as though the author's mind were an entirely transparent medium without any distorting or obscuring power. And my procedure must seem the more puzzling since the author has expressly reminded us of the portrayal of his story as a "fantasy". We have found however that all his assumptions are so faithfully copied from reality that we should not object if *Gradiva* were described not as a phantasy but as a psychiatric study. Only at two points has the author availed himself of the licence open to him of drawing down premisses which do not seem to have their roots in the laws of reality. The first time is where he makes the young archaeologist come upon what is undoubtedly an ancient relief but which so closely resembles a person having long

attracts as he does in the peculiarity of the posture of the foot as it is stepping out, in every detail of its structure and bony attitude, that the young man is able to take the personal appearance of that person to be the work of the ancient artist. And the second time is where he makes the young man meet the living woman previous to Pompeii for the dead woman had been passed there only by his imagination and the journey to Pompeii has in fact carried him away from the living woman, whom he had just seen in the street of the town where he lived. This second presence of the artist's power, however, involves no evident departure from actual possibility. It merely makes use of chance which frequently plays a part in many human histories and furthermore he uses it to good purpose. For this chance reflects the fatal truth that has laid it down that flight is precisely an instrument that delivers one over to what one is fleeing from. The last premiss seems to lean more towards phantasy and to spring entirely from the author's arbitrary decision, the premiss on which all that follows depends, the fascinating resemblance between the young girl and the antique figure which a mere superficial glance might have restricted to the single feature of the posture of the foot as it steps along. We might be tempted here to allow the play of our own phantasy to merge more with reality. The name of Bertgang might point to the fact that the women of that family had already been distinguished in ancient days by the peculiarity of their graceful gait, and we might suppose that the Germanic Bertgangs were descended from a Roman family one member of which was the woman who had left the artist to perpetuate the peculiarity of her gait in the sculpture. Now, however, the slightest variations of the human form are not independent of one another, and in fact even among nurselings the adjacent types are apparently quite as we can see in art schools, where two models are sometimes specially chosen that a modern Bertgang may reproduce the shape of her ancient ancestress not only in the outer features of her bodily structure as well but even down to the most intimate details of such specifications.

to enquire from the author himself what were the sources from which this part of his story was derived, we should then have a good prospect of showing once again how what was ostensibly an arbitrary decision rested in fact upon law. But since we have no access to the sources in the author's mind, we must leave him with an undiminished right to construct a development that is wholly true to life upon an improbable premiss—a right of which Shakespeare, for instance, availed himself in *King Lear*.[2]

Apart from this, it must be repeated, the author has presented us with a perfectly correct psychiatric study, on which we may measure our understanding of the workings of the mind—a case history and the history of a cure which might have been designed to emphasize certain fundamental theories of medical psychology. It is strange enough that the author should have done this! But how if on being questioned he were to deny any such purpose? It is so easy to draw analogies and to read meanings into things. Is it not rather we who have slipped into this charming poetic story a secret meaning very far from its author's intentions? Possibly. We shall come back to the question later. For the moment, however, we have tried to save ourselves from making any such tendentious interpretation by giving the story almost entirely in the author's own words. Anyone who compares our reproduction with the actual text of *Gradiva* will have to concede us that.

Perhaps, too, in most people's eyes we are doing our author a poor service in declaring his work to be a psychiatric study. An author, so we hear, should keep out of the way of any contact with psychiatry and should leave the description of pathological mental states to the doctors. The truth is that no truly creative writer has ever obeyed this injunction. The description of the human mind is indeed the

1 [illegible] 94 [illegible]

2 [Some remarks on the improbable premiss of *King Lear* are to be found in ... the ... of the Three Caskets' (1913*f*), *Standard Ed.*, 12, 301.]

domain which is most his own he has from time immemorial been the precursor of science, and so too of scientific psychology. For the frontier between states of mind described as normal and pathological is in part a conventional one and in part so fluctuating that each of us probably crosses it many times in the course of a day. On the other hand, psychiatry would be doing wrong if it were to restrict itself permanently to the study of the severe and gross disorders that arise from gross injuries to the delicate apparatus of the mind. Deviations from health which are slighter and capable of correction, and which to-day we can trace back no further than to disturbances in the interplay of mental forces are also of interest to us. Indeed only through the examination of these can we attain to understanding either normal states or the phenomena of severe illness. Thus the creative writer cannot evade the psychiatrist or the psychiatrist the creative writer, and the poetic treatment of a psychiatric theme can turn out to be correct without any sacrifice of its beauty.[1]

And it is really correct of this imaginative picture of the hero's case and its treatment. Now that we have finished hearing the story and satisfied our own suspense, we can get a clearer view of it all, and we shall now reproduce it with the technical terminology of our science, and in doing so we shall not be concerned at the necessity for repeating what we have said before.

Norbert Hanold's condition is often spoken of by the author as a "fixation," and we have no reason to reject that designation. We can state two kinds of characteristics of a fixation which do not, it is true, describe it exhaustively, but which are outstandingly recognizable from other disorders. In the first place it is one of a group of psychological states which do not produce a direct injury to the body but are manifested only by mental incapacities. Not seldom this is

[1] [A further discussion by Freud of the use of psychopathological material by creative writers will be found in a psychoanalytic publication entitled "Psychopathic Characters on the Stage," which probably appeared a year or two before the present work.]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] The [illegible] of paranoia are absent from it.

[illegible]

spel[illegible] of the regular experience that everything mental that bec[illegible] active and intense becomes at the same time conscious as well and that they have striven to earn what our author knows very well that there are most certainly mental processes which in spite of being intense and pushing [illegible] are kept apart from consciousness.

We [illegible] at the outset [illegible] Wolff that Norbert Hanold's [illegible] were [illegible] Zoe were in a state of repression and here we have cured them and made them conscious. So we must now pay some attention to the [illegible] between these two technical terms, which seemed [illegible] their meaning. It is not difficult to make [illegible] 'Unconscious' is the wider concept 'repressed' [illegible] everything that is repressed is unconscious but we cannot assert that everything unconscious is repressed. When Jensen let the repressed return in Zoe's gait, what had earlier been an unconscious memory of his would have become simultaneously active and conscious and the cure would have shown that it had been [illegible] repressed. [illegible] a quick description of the [illegible] in some respects and as we may [illegible] 'Repression' is a dynamic expression, which [illegible] that there is a force present which is seeking to bring about all kinds of [illegible] that all becoming conscious but [illegible] pressing forward [illegible] lose psychical efficiency [illegible] the [illegible] Here [illegible] repression [illegible] its intensity [illegible] make it easier [illegible] Hanold's case that from the moment of the appearance of the relief onwards we are [illegible] with something repressed that is repressed or, more broadly, with something repressed.

Norbert Hanold's [illegible] these emotional reactions with the gait with the graceful gait were repressed. But this is not yet the correct view of the psychological situation. We remain on the surface so long as we are dealing only with

memories and ideas. What a number of valuable mental de
s rather the feelings. No mental forces are significant or useful unless
they possess the characteristic of arousing feelings. Ideas are
only repressed because they are associated with the release
of feelings which ought not to occur. It would be more
correct to say that the process of repression applies only to affects
and impulses. Consequently Jensen's assertion that what was repressed
in Norbert Hanold's case were feelings that were repressed
and should not be known about by his waking mind rather than
Zoe Bertgang's memories is confirmed. His memories of her were
forgotten. He was not the first to repress the whole Bertgang episode
from his conscious memories as we do on account
of a resistance to emotions that were present in them. These
memories could only become operative as unconscious ones.
What now took place in him was a struggle between the
power of repression and the forces that were repressing
it; the manifestation of this struggle was a delusion.

Our analytic discussion of the reasons which led to the
repression of the erotic from his sphere for of course Hanold's
concern with science was only the motive which the
repressing employed. A writer would have to dig deeper
here but perhaps how far the operative reasons were
But as we are concerned with a fiction we are not
forced to know how the arousing of the repressed emotions
came about from the level of the unconscious that served
to bring about the repression. It was right that in a time,
the presence of a woman should have been what
tore [illegible] away from his retreat from love and
warmth to get rid of the most terrible with which we are
burdened from our birth.

The first manifestations of the process that had been set
going in Hanold by the relief were plant images, which played
around the figure represented in it. The figure seemed to

[Some [illegible] were needed to explain [illegible] images to
[illegible] are [illegible] paper on The Uncanny [illegible]

him to have something 'of today' about her, in the best sense of the words, and it was as though the artist had captured her from the ancient pavement of Grade Via. He gave the girl in the ancient street the name of Gradiva, which he constructed on the model of an ancient Roman war-god standing armed battle. Mars Gradivus. He endowed her personality with more and more characteristics. She must have been the daughter of a respected person, perhaps of a patrician, perhaps, who was connected with the temple service of a deity. He thought he could trace a certain pride in her features and ruthlessly he compelled to remove her from the busy life of a capital and to transport her to the more peaceful Pompeii, and there he must see her step across the lava stepping stones which made it possible to cross from one side of the street to the other. [P. 1.] These products of his phantasy seem arbitrary enough, but at the same time innocently unsuspicious. And it does even seem for the first time they gave rise to a passionate interest when the archaeologist, obsessed by the problem of whether this position of the foot is possible in reality, began to make observations in the streets and excavations of the foot of contemporary women and girls. Now his attention was screened by conscientious scientific motives as though by a glass plate from the sculpture of Gradiva's foot, from the sphere of his professional concern with ancient reliefs. The women and girls in the street were for him objects as the subjects of his investigations must of course have to be in other cases. His erotic interest is beyond question, we cannot doubt that right. We ourselves can be convinced of that. Hanold was as much in ignorance of the motives of his researches as he was of the origin of his phantasies about Gradiva. These, as we learned later, were echoes of his memories of his youthful love, derivatives of those memories, transformations and distortions of them, after they had been forced to make their way into his consciousness in an unrecognized form. The ostensibly archaeological interest in the subject of the 'foot-today' about to take the place of the knee-to-get-at-a-girl of

runs again[1]. (150 [p. 39])

mental processes. One of them looked at from Hanold's point of view was conscious to him, the other was completely unconscious to him. One of them was derived wholly from the circle of ideas of the science of archaeology, the other arose from the repressed crude and sad memories that had become associated with man's first erotic instincts attached to them. One might be described as a region of the sunshine and overlying the other, which was, as it were, concealed behind it. The sunshine motivation might be said to serve as a pretext for the unconscious erotic one, and so entered into self-deception at the service of the delusion. It should not be forgotten, however, that the unconscious determinants were the more powerful ones, that they were necessarily the conscious, superficial ones. The explanations of a delusion [illegible] and actions alike are in fact the products of compromise between the two mental currents, and in a compromise account is taken of the demands of each of the two parties to it, but each side must also renounce a part of what it wanted to achieve. Where a compromise comes about it must have been preceded by a struggle. In this case it was the conflict we have assumed between repressed erotic impulses and the forces that were keeping them in repression. In the formation of a delusion this struggle is a fait accompli. Assault and resistance are renewed after the construction of each compromise, which is never so to speak, entirely satisfying. Our author is aware of this, and that is why he makes a peculiar arrested mental stage, a delusion, appear as a preliminary to great interior developments.

[illegible] portrays the [illegible] of [illegible] delusion and the struggle with the repressed instinctual forces which are now at the point of breaking through, and perhaps more clearly in the further course of the story. And this is just as it should be, for the author has here grasped and represented the most characteristic of all the typical mental processes.

The development of Norbert Hanold's delusion proceeded

[illegible]

[illegible] the same knowledge?

[illegible]

[illegible]

th[illegible] streets of the town [illegible]. It seems [illegible] give [illegible] that [illegible] his dream in [illegible]. The dream found him in Pompeii on the day on which the unhappy city was destroyed by [illegible], and experienced its horrors without being in danger himself. He suddenly saw Gradiva stepping along there, and understood all at once, as something quite natural, that since she was a Pompeian, she was living in her native town, and 'without his having suspected it, as his contemporary' [p. 13]. He was seized with fear on her account and gave a warning cry, whereupon she turned her face towards him for a moment. But she proceeded on her way without paying any attention to him, lay down on the steps of the Temple of Apollo, and was buried in the rain of ashes after her face had lost its colour, as though it were turning into white marble, until it had become just like a piece of sculpture. As he was waking up, he interpreted the noises of a big city penetrating into his bedroom as the cries for help of the despairing inhabitants of Pompeii and the thunder of the wildly agitated sea. The feeling that what he had dreamt had really happened to him would not leave him for some time after he had woken, and a conviction that Gradiva had lived in Pompeii and had perished there on that fatal day was left over with him by the dream as a fresh starting-point for his delusion.

It is not so easy for us to say what the author intended with this dream and what caused him to link the development of the delusion precisely to a dream. Zealous investigators, it is true, have collected plenty of examples of the way in which mental disturbances are linked to dreams and arise out of dreams.¹ It appears, too, that in the lives of a few eminent men impulses to important actions and decisions have originated from dreams. But these analogies are not of much help to our understanding; so let us keep to our present case, our author's imaginary case of Norbert Hanold.

¹ Sante de Sanctis, 1899. [Cf. *The Interpretation of Dreams* [illegible], Chapter I, Section [illegible]. *Standard Ed.*, 4, [illegible].]

the archaeologist. By which end are we to take hold of a dream like this so as to force into the waking context, if it is not to remain no more than an unnecessary decoration of the story?

I can well imagine that at this point a reader may exclaim: 'The dream is quite easily explained. It was a simple anxiety-dream, occasioned by the noises of the city, which were misinterpreted into the destruction of Pompeii by the archaeologist whose mind was occupied with his Pompeian girl.' In view of the low estimation generally prevailing of the performances of dreams, a thing is usually asked from an explanation of one is that some external stimulus should be found that more or less coincides with the purport of the dream's content. This externalist explanation would be supplied by the noise which woke the sleeper, and with this, interest in the dream would be exhausted. But we had some reason for supposing that the town was noisier than usual that morning.[1] Hence, for instance, the archaeologist omitted to leave that Harnack, against his usual custom, had slept that night with his window open.' What a pity the author did not take the trouble to point it out! And then anxiety-dreams were as simple as that! But we understand the dream is not so easily exhausted.

There is nothing essential for the construction of a dream in a link with an external sensory stimulus. A sleeper can disregard a stimulus of this kind from the external world, or he can allow himself to be awakened by it without constructing a dream, or, as happened here, he can weave it into a dream if two wishes from some other reason and there are many such dreams in which it is impossible to show that the interruption was determined only as a stimulus to prolong the dream instead of ending it. Now we must turn to other points.

We may perhaps find a starting-point in the dream's last words left over from the dream: 'Had I only known that Gradiva had been a Pompeian!' This hypothesis now became a certainty for him, and a second

[1] Cf. *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Standard Ed., 4, 224.

certainty followed that she was buried along with the rest in the year A.D. 79. Meanwhile feelings of compassion and extension of the dimensional structure like an echo of the anxiety which had filled the dream. Fresh pain about Gradiva does not seem even altogether to have been absent from the dream-content. We have never saved from destruction in the year 79 A.D. Or can we be charged in this kind of way rather with Norbert Hanold or with the author himself? Here again there seems to be room for hesitation. Nevertheless it is worth remarking that the correlation which the dream acquired in this direction was effected by a feeling with a highly painful tinge.

Apart from that, however, we are as much at a loss as before. The dream is not yet explained, and we must resolve to borrow from my *Interpretation of Dreams* and apply to the present example a few of the rules which have proved of service for the solution of dreams.

One of these rules is to the effect that a dream is usually concerned with events of the day before the dream.[1] Our attention is now directed to show that this relation between the dream-content and the day's impressions applies also to Norbert Hanold's dream. Among other things the dream ought to have contained a reference to what Gradiva was doing on the day before. And this, as we know, was showing herself to Pompeii but that is only by the way.

Another rule tells us that, if a new fact in the memory of the dreamer gives perhaps a handle so that one cannot trace a reference in the dream, then we must look for a reference to the recollection of the dream-images that is a personal matter in the dreamer's life. Bearing in mind the content of the dream, that seems a strange request to make; and it might have taken us a long time to find

[1] See the text of *Gradiva* (1).

[2] [*An Autobiographical Study* (Chapter V, Section V). *Standard Ed.* **4**, 165 ff.]

[3] [Ibid., **4**, 187 and **5**, 372.]

If we keep to these two rules, we must conclude that the dream gave some information as to the whereabouts of the Gradiva he was in search of, and that that information tallied with the real state of things. We know Hanold's dream: does the application of these two rules to it yield any reasonable sense?

Strange to say, it does. The sense is merely disguised in a particular way so that it is not immediately recognizable. Hanold was informed in the dream that the girl he was looking for was living in a town and contemporaneously with him. Now this was true of Zoe Bertgang; only in the dream the town was not the German university town but Pompeii, and the time was not the present but the year 79 A.D. It is, as it were, a distortion by displacement: what we have is not Gradiva in the present but the dreamer transported into the past. Nevertheless, in this manner, the essential and new fact is stated: *he is in the same place and time as the girl he is looking for.* But whence come the displacement and disguise which were bound to deceive both us and the dreamer over the true meaning and content of the dream? Well, we already have the means at our disposal of giving a satisfactory answer to that question.

Let us recall all that we have heard about the nature and origin of the phantasies which are the precursors of delusions (p. 44 f.). They are substitutes for and derivatives of repressed memories which a resistance will not allow to enter consciousness unaltered, but which can purchase the possibility of becoming conscious by taking account, by means of changes and distortions, of the resistance's censorship. When this compromise has been accomplished, the memories are turned into those phantasies, which can easily be misunderstood by the conscious personality—that is, understood so as to fit in with the dominant psychical current. Now let us suppose that dream-images are what might be described as the creations of people's physiologically, not pathologically, delusions—the products of the compromise in the struggle between what is repressed and what is dominant which is

no more than an ingenious and poetical representation of the real event. Hanold had in fact transferred his interest from the living girl to the sculpture: the girl he loved had been transformed for him into a marble relief. The last few days, which were bound to remain unconscious, served to change the sculpture back into the living girl, which they were saving to him accordingly was something like. After all, we are only interested in the statue (Gradiva) because it reminds you of Zoe who is living here and now. But if this discovery could have become conscious, it would have meant the end of the delusion.

Are we perhaps under an obligation to replace in this way each separate piece of the manifest content of the dream by unconscious thoughts? Strictly speaking, yes: if we were interpreting a dream that had really been dreamt we could not avoid that duty. But in that case, too, the dreamer would have to give us the most copious explanations. Clearly we cannot observe this requirement in the case of the author's creations. Nevertheless, we shall not overlook the fact that we have not yet settled the relation of the manifest content of the dream to the process of interpretation or translation.

For Hanold's dream was an anxiety-dream. Its manifest content was to him incomprehensible, but he slept and he was not worried by things afterwards. Now this is far from conveying an explanation, and we must once again borrow heavily from the theory of dream-interpretation. We are warned by that theory not to fall into the error of treating the anxiety that may be felt in a dream in the same way as if it were the content of an idea occurring in waking life. It proves true to us how often we dream the most grotesque things without having a trace of anxiety. The true situation would require a different one, which cannot be easily guessed but which can be proved with certainty. The anxiety in anxiety-dreams, like neurotic anxiety in general, corresponds to a sexual affect, a libidinal

feeling, and arises out of libido by the process of repression.[1] When we interpret a dream, therefore, we must replace anxiety by sexual excitement. The anxiety that originates in this way has not invariably, but frequently, a selective influence on the content of the dream and introduces into it ideational elements which seem when the dream is looked at from a conscious and mistaken point of view to be appropriate to the affect of anxiety. As I have said, this is not invariably so, for there are plenty of anxiety dreams in which the content is not in the least frightening and where it is therefore impossible to give an explanation on consciously lines of the anxiety that is felt.

I am aware that this explanation of anxiety in dreams sounds very strange and is not easy to credit; but I can only advise the reader to come to terms with it. Moreover it would be a very remarkable thing if Norbert Hanold's dream could be reconciled with this view of anxiety and could be explained in that way. On that basis we should say that the dreamer's erotic longings were stirred during the night and made a powerful effort to make conscious his memory of the girl he loved and so to arouse a fresh repetition of his emotions; but that those longings met with a fresh repression and were transformed into anxiety which then made its way into the content of the dream. The terrifying pictures from the memories of his school days had a share in the true unconscious content of the dream as possible longings for the Zoe he had once known, because transformed into its manifest content of the destruction of Pompeii and the loss of Gradiva.

So far, I think, it sounds plausible. But it might easily be insisted that, if erotic wishes constitute the unconscious content of the dream, it ought also to be possible to point at least to some recognizable residue of those wishes concealed

[1] Cf. my first paper on the anxiety neurosis [1895*b*] and *The Interpretation of Dreams*. *Standard Ed.* **4**, 134 and **5**, 578 ff. In my *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* [1926*d*] Freud put forward an amended view of the origin of anxiety.

repressed. It is this relaxation that makes the formation of dreams possible, and that is why dreams give us our best access to a knowledge of the unconscious part of the mind. except that, as a rule, with the re-establishment of the psychical cathexes of waking life, the dream once more takes to flight and the ground that has been won by the unconscious is evacuated once again.

[illegible] dream. Well, even that may be possible with the help of a little from a later part of the story. When Hanold had his first meeting with the supposed Gradiva he recounted the dream and begged the young lady to explain it to him. Her own answer is not recorded, but [illegible] Hanold's account of the young lady's rose-fragrant and still breathing companion, for she was accorded the appropriate welcome when she visited the dreamer's chamber. We must, I think, accept Gradiva's interpretation, even in a real dream we cannot always expect to find a [illegible] explanation of every detail [illegible] Our own rules of dream-interpretation [illegible] this dream has thus resulted in making it [illegible] and in inserting it into the texture of the story. Surely, then, the author must have observed these rules in composing it? We must take another point into consideration before we can treat a dream as the starting-point for the further development of the plot.[1] In many cases [illegible] we can hardly regard it as true to life. We [illegible] p. 55 that a real person's dream [illegible] what we [illegible] be prepared to find dreams [illegible] for the same reason that [illegible] Dreams are [illegible] the psychological [illegible] of mental processes [illegible] But what is represented [illegible] to break through to [illegible] have at first a hard [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the dream and interesting events. For during sleep [illegible] a general lowering of mental [illegible] the resistance with which the [illegible] psychical forces oppose what is

[1] 'No, I must hear you speak first. I called to you when you lay [illegible] asleep and [illegible] on [illegible] your face was as peaceful and beautiful as marble. May I beg of you to lie down once more on the step as you did then.' (70.)

III

In the further course of the story there is yet another dream, which may perhaps tempt us even more than the first to try to translate it and insert it into the train of events in the hero's mind.[1] But we should save very little by diverging from the author's account and hurrying on immediately to this second dream, for no one who wishes to analyse some one else can avoid turning his attention on the greatest difficulties in the dreamer's experiences, both external and mental. It will perhaps be best therefore to keep close to the text of the story and to intersperse it with our glosses as we proceed.

The consequence of the first decision about Gradiva's death during the destruction of Pompeii in the year 79 A.D. was not the only result of the first dream, which we have already discussed. Immediately after it Hanold decided on his journey to Italy which eventually brought him to Pompeii. But before that, something else happened to him. As he was looking out of the window, he thought he saw a pigeon in the street with the bearing and gait of his Gradiva. In spite of the long and fashionably dressed skirt he turned after her, but failed to overtake her, and was driven back into the house by the jeers of the passers-by. When he was in his room once more, the song of a canary from its cage in the window of a house opposite struck up in him a mood in which he too seemed to be a prisoner longing for freedom, and his sprung to the journey was no sooner decided on than it was carried out.

The author has thrown a particularly clear light on this journey of Hanold's and has allowed him to have a partial

[1] The last phrase in this sentence, which in a slightly different form has already appeared in the preceding paragraph, gives us an echo of the opening sentence of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (*Standard Ed.*, 4, 1).]

relation to Hanold's delusion and its position in the chain of events. The journey was undertaken for reasons which its subject could not recognize at first and only admitted to himself for reasons which the author describes in so many words as 'unconscious'. This is certainly taken from the theory that one need not be surprising to a doctor in order to have one like him. On the contrary, it is an event of daily occurrence for a person, even a healthy person, to do or be led to do things for reasons of an unconscious and to become conscious of them only after the event, provided only that a number of several currents directed against the necessary conditions for such a confusion. Accordingly, Hanold's journey was from the first calculated to serve the delusion, and was intended to take him to Pompeii, where he could proceed further with his search for Gradiva. If we are reminded that this journey was occupied with that secret both by a dream and by a letter from a friend, that the letter was sent in answer to the question of Gradiva's whereabouts, through an answer which was said to be his unconscious inner power which we do not recognize was, however, not surprising I am to begin with from becoming aware of this unconscious motivation so that for the conscious reasons for his journey, he was left only with insufficient pretexts which had to be renewed from place to place. The author presents us with a further puzzle by making the dream, the discovery of the supposed Gradiva in the street, and the decision to undertake the journey as a result of the dream, all succeed one another as a series of chance events without any internal connection with one another.

I am not sure if the origin of the story is more intelligible to us by means of a remark which we have from the later remarks of Jensen himself. It was in fact the original of Gradiva herself whom Hanold saw out of his window walking across the street and who then was overtaken by the dream that she was in fact living at the same time and in the same town as he was. Would by a lucky chance have

received an irresistible confirmation which would have brought about the collapse of his internal struggle. But the canary, whose singing set Hanold's dream-journey in motion, began to [illegible] and stage stood in her window directly across the street from Hanold's house [illegible] and who, according to the girl's account, had the gift of 'negative hallucination' who possessed the art of not seeing and not recognizing people who were actually present, must from the first have had an inkling as to knowledge of what we only learned later. The mere sight of Zoe's pronounced appearance in the street and her boisterous singing so near his window intensified the effect of the dream and in this preliminary stage, perhaps for his resistance to his erotic feelings, he took to flight. His journey was a result of his resistance gathering new strength after the surge forward of his erotic desires in the dream. It was an attempt at escape from the passion present and threatening once more. In a previous [illegible] journey [illegible] [illegible] pedestrian researches [illegible] women and girls [illegible] a victory for eroticism but even where [illegible] these obstacles the struggle has compromise character. The dream was preserved the journey to Pompeii, which was supposed to lead him away from the living Zoe, did lead at last to her stronghold Gradiva. The journey which was undertaken in defiance of the latent dream thoughts, was nevertheless following the path to Pompeii that was pointed out by the manifest content of the dream. This later new struggle between eroticism and resistance we find the dream triumphant.

This view of Hanold's journey as a flight from his awakening erotic longing for the girl whom he once [illegible] was suppressed by him is the only one which will fit in with the description of his emotional states during his stay in Rome. The repudiation of eroticism which dominated him was expressed there in his disgust at the harlot-manners. A short dream which he had in Rome [illegible] and which was occasioned by the proximity of a [illegible] young [illegible]

'Edwin and Angelina', whose evening conversation he could not help hearing through the thin partition-wall, throws a retrospective light as it were on the preceding [illegible] first major dream. In the new dream he was once again in Pompeii and Vesuvius was once again erupting, and it was thus linked to the earlier dream whose attitude remained unchanged throughout the journey. It was true, however, that the people impersonated were not, as in the former dream, Julia and Glaucus but the Arbes Bassaeresse and the Consul Vesuvius could not by way of [illegible] and the eruption of the first room. Apart from Vesuvius appeared here as a real and terrible power, something like the dark wish seemed to be a messenger call[illegible] warning noise. Apart from this the interpretation [illegible] for no special skill. (31.)

Our author, who as we have long since revealed never interposes a single word of [illegible] from his own standpoint after the presentation of the asexual current which dominated Hanold's fancy. As he roamed about for hours in Pompeii struggling to get at it never once occurred to him that a short time before he had dreamt a living present at the burial of Pompeii in the [illegible] of 79 A.D. It was only when he caught sight of Zoë at the [illegible] he suddenly remembered the dream and he [illegible] as the same [illegible] for this puzzling [illegible]. How could this forgotten dream be [illegible] between the dream and [illegible] by supposing that the [illegible] was [illegible] at the direct [illegible] of the dream. It was a [illegible] that was an [illegible] of a mental power that [illegible] to know [illegible] of the secret meaning of the dream.

But on the other hand it could [illegible] that [illegible] over his conscious [illegible] suppressed memory-impulse retained power enough to [illegible] itself on the [illegible] with discomfort and [illegible]. His [illegible] formed into restlessness and [illegible], which [illegible] [illegible]

pointless to him. His insight into his reasons for the journey at the ending of the delusion was [illegible] his relations with his science, which in such a spot should have stirred all his interest, were interfered with. So the author shows us how we [illegible] from [illegible] in a state of complete confusion and distraction [illegible] such as we usually find at the [illegible] two certain powerful antagonistic [illegible] superior strength over the other for the moment seem [illegible] it possible to establish a [illegible]. But were [illegible] by [illegible] things set by making Gradiva appear at this [illegible] the cure of [illegible]. By the power she possesses [illegible] people of his creation, she [illegible] as the laws of necessity which he [illegible], he arranges that the girl, [illegible] to Pompeii, should be transported to the [illegible]. In this way he corrects the folly to which [illegible] was led by his delusion that the folly of exchanging the love of the living girl whom he loved for the [illegible] substitute.

With the appearance of Zoë Bertgang as Gradiva [illegible] marks the [illegible] of [illegible] interest [illegible] soon takes a new [illegible]. So far we [illegible] at the delusion now we [illegible]. And we may ask whether the [illegible] has given a [illegible] of the [illegible] or whether he has constructed it in accordance with possibilities already present. Zoë's own words [illegible] whether new-married [illegible] and [illegible] to her [illegible] bring about the cure (p. 2). But how did she set about it? When she had got over the [illegible] aroused in her by his suggestion that she [illegible] to sleep again as she [illegible] to the next day at the same hour to the same spot, and proceeded to come out of Hanold and the secret knowledge her [illegible] of which had prevented her from understanding his behaviour

the day before. She learnt about his dream, about the sculpture of Gradiva and about the peculiar way in which she herself resembled it. She accepted the rôle of the ghost awakened to life for a brief hour, a rôle for which, as she perceived, his delusion had cast her, and, by accepting the flowers of the dead woman he had brought with such serious purpose, and by expressing a regret that he had not given her roses, she gave herself in and gained time to ponder the possibility of working up a new position. [10 p.]

However much the girl then was determined to win her childhood's friend for her husband, after she had recognized that the young archæologist's error for her was the motive force behind his delusion, our interest in her behaviour, however well prepared we might be for the development, is surpassed by that which we may feel at the delusion itself. The artist himself was taken by it was that Gradiva, who had been buried in A.D. , was now also to stand up again to exchange words with him for an hour at the place where she must shortly die again or seek her grave once more. [ ] Jensen, however, was not the first to explain away the delusion by supposing that the apparition was wearing modern shoes or by the appearance of the ancient language and her command of German which was not in existence in her day. Certainly seems to justify the author's description of his story as a Pompeian phantasy, but it seems also to exclude any possibility of measuring it by the standards of external reality.

Nevertheless, on closer consideration this delusion of Hanold's seems to me to lose the greater part of its improbability. The author, indeed, has made himself responsible for one part of it by basing his story on the premiss that Zoe was in every detail a duplicate of the model. We must therefore avoid assessing the improbability of this premiss and its consequence, that Hanold took the girl for Gradiva come to life. Greater value is given to the delusional explanation by the fact that the author has put no rational one at our disposal. Moreover the author has added contributory and mitigating circumstances on behalf of his hero's excesses in

[illegible]

[1] [Exophthalmic goitre.]

dread did not give way to shame till the girl introduced herself as the sister of the one who had died of the same disease as she herself was suffering from. The victims of Graves' disease, as has often been observed, have a marked facial resemblance to one another, and in this case this typical likeness was reinforced by a family one. The sister to whom this occurred was, however, none other than myself, so I have a personal reason for not exploring the occult possibilities of Norbert Hanold's temporary delusion that Gradiva had come back to life. The fact finally is familiar to every psychiatrist that in severe cases of chronic delusions even the most extreme examples occur of impersonally elaborated and well-supported absurdities.

After his first meeting with Gradiva, Norbert Hanold had walked back with a friend to one of the other of the two restaurants that he knew in Pompeii, while the other visitors were engaged in eating the main meal of the day. Of course it never came into his head to think of the nonsensical notion that he was doing it in order to discover on which of the hotels Gradiva would lunch with her uncle. But it is difficult to say what other sensible reasons could have had. On the day after that second meeting in the House of Meleager he had all kinds of strange and apparently unconnected experiences. He found a narrow gap in the wall of the peristyle at the point where Gradiva had disappeared. He met a fool-hardy barber's daughter who addressed him as though he were an old acquaintance. He discovered a third hotel in which he was not known, the 'Albergo del Sole', whose proprietor palmed off on him a metal clasp with a green patina as a bronze from beside the remains of a Pompeian girl. And, lastly, in his own hotel he noticed a newly-arrived young couple whom he designated as a brother and sister and with whom he formed a pattern. All these impressions were afterwards woven together into a remarkably senseless dream which ran as follows:

'Somewhere in the sun Gradiva was sitting making a snare out of a blade of grass to catch a lizard in, and said

Please keep quite still. Our lady colleague is right, the method is a really good one and she has made use of it with excellent results."[2] [P. 25.]

He fended off this dream while he was still asleep with the comforting thought that it was utter madness, and cast around in his recollections to get free from it. He succeeded in doing so with the help of an invisible bird which uttered a short, jarring call and carried off the lizard in its beak.

Are we to venture on an attempt at interpreting this dream too—that is, at replacing it by the latent thoughts from whose distortion it must have arisen? It is as senseless as only a dream can be expected to be, and this absurdity of dreams is the mainstay of the view which refuses to characterize dreams as completely valid psychical acts and maintains that they arise out of a purposeless excitation of the elements of the mind.

We are able to apply to this dream the technique which may be described as the regular procedure for interpreting dreams. It consists in paying no attention to the apparent connections in the manifest dream but in fixing our eyes upon each portion of its content independently, and in looking for its origin in the dreamer's impressions, memories, and free associations. Since however we cannot question Hanold, we shall have to content ourselves with referring to his impressions, and we may very tentatively put our own associations in place of his.

Somewhere in the sun Gradiva was sitting catching lizards and speaking. What impression of the previous day formed an element in this part of the dream? Undoubtedly the encounter with the elderly gentleman, the lizard-catcher, who was thus replaced in the dream by Gradiva. He sat or lay 'on a sun-bathed slope' and he spoke to Hanold. Furthermore Gradiva's remarks in the dream were copied from this man's remarks, viz. 'The method prescribed by our colleague Bumke is a really good one, I have made use of

of many [illegible] already with excellent results. Please keep quite still' [P. 23]. Gradiva used much the same words in the dream, except that 'our zoological Eunuch' was replaced by an unnamed 'lady colleague'; moreover, the many times in the zoologist's speech was omitted in the dream and the order of the sentences was somewhat altered. It seems, therefore, that this experience of the previous day was transferred to the dream with the help of a few changes and transformations. Why this particular experience? And what is the meaning of the changes—the replacement of the elderly gentleman by Gradiva and the introduction of the enigmatic 'lady colleague'?

There is a rule in interpreting dreams which runs as follows: A speech heard in a dream is always derived from one that has been heard or made by the dreamer in waking life.[1] This rule seems to have been observed here. Gradiva's speech is clearly a reproduction of the old zoologist's speech which Hanold had heard the day before. Another rule in dream-interpretation would lead us to suppose that when one person is replaced by another or when two people are fused up together in a dream, by one of them being shown in a situation that is characteristic of the other, it means that the two people are being equated—that there is a similarity between them.[2] If we venture to apply this rule too to our dream, we should arrive at the following: 'Gradiva catches Zoe's [illegible] like the old man she is skilled in hazardous and daring [illegible].' This result cannot exactly be said to be illuminating as yet, but we have yet another puzzle to solve. To what impression of the previous day are we to relate the lady colleague who in the dream replaces the [illegible] zoologist Hanold? Naturally we have very little choice. A lady colleague can only mean another girl—that is to say, the sympathetic young lady whom Hanold had taken for a sister travelling with her brother. She was wearing a red Sorrento rose in her dress, the sight of which reminded him

[1] [Cf. *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Standard Ed., 5, 419 ff.]

[2] [Ibid., 4, 320 ff.]

of something as he looked across from his corner of the dining-room, but he could not think what. [P. 24 f.] This remark of the author's gives us a right to regard her as the 'lady colleague' in the dream. What Hanold could not recall were certainly the words spoken by the supposed Gradiva which had reminded him, as she asked him for the flowers, that in spring people gave happier girls roses. [P. 2[illegible].] But behind those words there had lain a hint of wooing. So what sort of communication was it that the lady colleague had carried out so successfully?

Next day Hanold came upon the supposed brother and sister in [illegible], and was thus able to correct his earlier mistake. They were in fact a pair of lovers, and moreover on their honeymoon, as we discovered later when they so unexpectedly interrupted Hanold's third interview with Zoe. Now we are willing to assume that Hanold, although he consciously took them for a brother and sister, had immediately recognized in his unconscious their true relationship, which was unambiguously betrayed next day; Gisa's speech in the dream acquires a clear meaning. The red rose had become the symbol of a love-relation. Hanold understood that the couple were already what he and Gradiva were yet to become; the lizard-catching had come to signify man-catching; and Gisa's speech meant something like: 'Only let me alone: I know how to win a man just as well as the other girl does.'

But why was it necessary for this penetration of Zoe's intentions to appear in the dream in the form of the old zoologist's speech? Why was Zoe's skill in man-catching represented by the old gentleman's skill in lizard-catching? Well, we can have no difficulty in answering that question. We guessed long ago that the lizard-catcher was none other than Bertgang, the professor of zoology and Zoe's father, who, incidentally, must have known Hanold too—which explains how he came to address him as an acquaintance. Let us assume, once again, that in his unconscious Hanold

at once recognized the Professor. He had a vague notion that he had already had a passing glimpse of the lizard-hunter's face, probably on one of the two occasions when, in the explanation of the strange surprise over which the dream attributed to Zoë made its appearance, she was the lizard-catcher's daughter and had acquired her skill from him.

The replacement of the lizard-catcher by Gradiva in the content of the dream is accordingly a representation of the relation between the two figures which was known to Hanold in his conscious life, the introduction of the lizard-catcher instead of Gradiva herself allowed the dream to express Hanold's realization that she was a living woman. Next the dream went together and used as well as it could two experiences of the previous day and one reflection in order to bring to expression a memory-trace which, as true dream-stuff, was already of a very infantile character. But we can go further. We can diminish the strangeness of the dream still more if we call to mind the fact that one of the other experiences of the previous day which had been taken by the manifest dream.

We may declare ourselves satisfied with the explanation that has been given in every case that proves to be some of the lizard-hunting was [illegible] the dream, and we may suspect that all [illegible] dream-elements were brought together [illegible] the experience [illegible] lizard-hunting. [illegible] dream I could [illegible] have [illegible] I will be [illegible] [p. 22] that Hanold had discovered a gap in the walk at the point where Gradiva herself seemed to vanish, a gap 'which was nevertheless wonderfully low and flat, so that it was usually simply stepped through.' It is observed also that it was customary to make a detour in this direction and that Gradiva herself was accustomed to step over the earth-cut used by the gap as a way of reaching her grave. In his unconscious thoughts he may have told himself that he had now discovered the natural explanation

of [illegible] surprising [illegible]. But [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]. The lizard [illegible] repres[illegible] encounter with [illegible]

And [illegible] growing [illegible] representation [illegible] the [illegible] the author has treated [illegible] Hanold [illegible] distance from the [illegible] made [illegible] to purchase [illegible] The [illegible] he preferred [illegible] been [illegible] beheld by her lover [illegible] this [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] with his [illegible]. As he was going [illegible] he saw standing in a glass of water in a window, a [illegible] sprig of asphodel covered with white blossoms, and took the sight of it as a confirmation of the genuineness of his new possession. He now felt a positive conviction that the green clasp had belonged to Gradiva [illegible] girl [illegible] in her lover's arms. He quieted [illegible] which then seized him by [illegible] he would show the clasp to Gradiva herself and [illegible] certainty [illegible] was suspicion. It cannot be denied that this

was a [illegible] new piece of [illegible] yet are we to suppose that no trace of [illegible] was to be found in his dream of the same night?

It would certainly be worth while to explain the origin of [illegible] the arms of her lover [illegible] purchased the [illegible] How [illegible] But [illegible] the two [illegible] he must have [illegible] is where she is [illegible] Yes, that's right. [illegible] I gave her. So that's her [illegible]"

[illegible] then was the new discovery which was prepared by the dream, and which could not become conscious because its underlying purpose [illegible] Gradiva was living present which he had once known [illegible]

But how did the reawakening [illegible] by the dream take place? We [illegible], I think, at the sense of confusion [illegible] to the conviction was due to persisting was [illegible], what [illegible] was [illegible] to consciousness was represented by another [illegible] connected with it by association [illegible] through [illegible] the dream [illegible] a context which was absurd [illegible] of a delusion won a recognition which could not [illegible] Hanold transferred [illegible] from Gradiva [illegible] the house to other impressions which [illegible] the house [illegible] to [illegible] regard to the lizard's remarks, the [illegible] of the [illegible] and [illegible] of the [illegible] about the discovery of the [illegible]

But now the [illegible] would be [illegible] with Gradiva. The [illegible] was already [illegible] seized upon this [illegible] and the consequence was the [illegible] Gradiva was the girl who had died in her lover's arms [illegible] that the clasp he had [illegible]

It will be [illegible] that [illegible] and her [illegible] at [illegible] already brought about [illegible] Hanold. It is from the dream [illegible] had awakened in him though [illegible] could not yet dispense with the [illegible] pretexts. But the problem of the bodily nature of Gradiva which pursued him all that day [pp. 20 and 21] cannot disavow its origin in a young man's erotic [illegible] a woman's body, even if it is involved in a scientific question by the conscious insistence on Gradiva's peculiar [illegible] between death and life. His [illegible] was a [illegible] of the aggressively active aspect of [illegible] love he expressed this

[illegible] at the beginning of their conversation the next day [illegible] just a trivial pretext proceeded [illegible] the [illegible] to go in the far-off past [illegible]

[illegible] time to ask ourselves whether the method of construing a delusion which we have inferred from our [illegible] is one that is known from other sources or whether it is possible at all from our present knowledge, we can say, to ascertain the correct meaning, and the psychological method, by which a delusion acquires [illegible] which is one of its most striking characteristics. If a person bases his delusion so firmly that [illegible] has to say, your judgement has been overturned [illegible] arises from what is false in the delusion. On the contrary, reference must be had to the truth contained in every delusion,[1] there is some truth in that proverb which observes belief and has [illegible] the parent's conviction, which is therefore [illegible] extent justified. This true element, however, was [illegible] If everything that is able to penetrate [illegible] is started from the sense of [illegible] by [illegible] is overcompensated by way of [illegible] and is now attached to the distorted [illegible] the repressed truth and protects it from any [illegible] thanks to the [illegible] as it were from the unconscious truth. The unconscious error that is linked to the real repressed truth arises precisely as a result of this [illegible] of the formation of a delusion [illegible] Jensen's first [illegible] is no more than a [illegible] of the [illegible] of such a statement [illegible] by which a delusion arises in the case [illegible] does not. Yet [illegible] from the method by which a delusion is removed in normal cases,

[1] I have expressed this view at many places [illegible] the whole [illegible] I have [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] Section [illegible] and [illegible], Chapter VII, Part II, Section G.

where repression does not come into the picture. We all attach our conviction to thought-contents in which truth is combined with error, and least extend from the former over the latter. It becomes confused, as it were, from the truth over the error associated with it and protects the latter, though not so unalterably as in the case of a delusion, against deserved criticism. In normal psychology too, being we accustomed 'having influence', so to speak, can take the place of true worth.

I will now revert to the dream and bring out a small but not uninteresting feature of it, which forms a connection between two of its provoking causes. Gradiva had drawn a kind of contrast between the white asphodel blossoms and the red rose. Seeing the asphodel again in the window of the Albergo del Sole became an important piece of evidence in support of Hanold's unconscious discovery, which was expressed in the new delusion. And wrongly: this was the fact that the girl presented in the dress of the antique period helped Hanold in his unconscious to a correct view of her relation to her companion now, but he was able to make her appear in the latter as the 'new delusion'.

But where in the manifest content of the dream it will be asked do we find anything to indicate and replace the discovery for which, as we have seen, Hanold's new delusion was a substitute, the discovery that Gradiva was standing with her father in the field, completely overlooked by the Albergo del Sole? Nevertheless it is all there in the dream, and not even very much disguised, and I merely hesitate to point to it because I know that even those of my readers who have followed the path I so far will begin to rebel strongly against my attempts at interpretation. Hanold's discovery, I repeat, is fully announced in the dream, but so cleverly concealed that it is bound to be overlooked. It is hidden behind a play upon words. Near Pompeii, Somewhere in the sun Gradiva was sitting. We have quite correctly related this to the spot where Hanold met Gradiva in the zoological. But

could it not also mean 'in the Sun'—that is, Gradiva is staying in the Albergo del Sole, the Sun Hotel? And was not the somewhere, which had no bearing on the encounter with her father, made to sound so expectantly emphatic precisely because it introduced a definite piece of information about the place where Gradiva was staying? From my experience even of real dreams, I would be perfectly certain that this is how the analogy is to be understood. But I should not in fact have ventured to present this piece of interpretative work to my readers if the author had not at this point lent me his powerful assistance. He puts the very same play upon words into the girl's mouth when next day she saw the metal lisp: 'Did you find it at the sun perhaps, which produces things of this kind?' [P. 26.] And since Harnold failed to understand what she had said, she explained that she meant the Sun Hotel, which they call 'Sole' here, and where she had already seen the suspicious antique.

And now let us make a bold attempt at replacing Hanold's 'remarkably senseless' dream by the unconscious thoughts that lay behind it and were as unlike it as possible. They ran, perhaps, as follows: 'She is staying in the "Sun" with her father. Why is she playing this game with me? Does she want to make fun of me? Or can it possibly be that she loves me and wants to have me as her husband?' And no doubt while he was still asleep there came an answer dismissing this last possibility as the merest madness, an argument which was ostensibly directed against the whole manifest dream.

Critical readers will now justly enquire about the origin of the interpretation for which I have so far given no grounds of the reference to being called by Gradiva. The answer to this is given in *The Interpretation of Dreams*, which explains that if ridicule, derision, or embittered contradiction occurs in the dream-thoughts, this is expressed by the manifest dream being given a senseless form, by absurdity in the dream.[1] This absurdity does not mean, therefore, that there

[1] *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Standard Ed., 5, 444–5.

as any paranoia of psychical activity: it is a method of representation employed by the dream-work. As always happens at specially difficult points, the author once more comes to our help here. The senseless dream-word a stroppolo in which a human and a living creature can be hazarded away in a book. But Hanold had heard a similar-sounding call after Gradiva's disappearance [p. 32]. It had in fact come from Zoë, who with this laugh was showing all the gloomy seriousness of her underworld role. Treat a thing really lightly at last. But the dream-image of the bird carrying off the lizard may have been a reminiscence of the earlier dream, in which the Apollo Belvedere carried off the Capitoline Venus [p. 68].

There may still be some readers who feel that the translation of the situation of lizard-catching by the idea of wooing has not been sufficiently well established. Some further support for it may be afforded by the consideration that Zoë in her conversation with her new-married friend admitted precisely what Hanold's thoughts about her suspected when she told her she had to pretend that she would 'go out' something interesting in Pompeii. Here she was trespassing into the field of archaeology, just as he had trespassed, with his simile of lizard-catching, into the field of zoology. It was as though they were struggling towards each other and each were trying to assume the other's character.

Here then we seem to have finished the interpretation of this second dream as well. But it will have been made intelligible to us only by the presupposition that a dreamer knows in his unconscious thoughts all that he has forgotten in his conscious ones, and that in the former he judges correctly what in the latter he misunderstands in a delusion. In the course of our arguments we have no doubt been obliged to make some assertions which have seemed strange to the reader because of their unfamiliarity, and we have probably often roused a suspicion that what we presented was the author's meaning was in fact only our own. I am anxious to

do all I can to dispel this suspicion, and for that reason I will gladly enter into more detail concerning the most delicate point—I mean the use of ambiguous words and phrases, such as "somewhere in the Pompeii area" [p. 17].

Anyone who reads Gradiva must be struck by the frequency with which the author puts ambiguous remarks into the mouths of his two principal characters. In Hanold's case these remarks are intended by him unambiguously—it is only the heroine Gradiva who is struck by their second meaning. Thus, for instance, when in reply to her first answer he exclaims "I knew your name must be Lia" [p. 18] Zoë, who was standing quite close, could not but think how true that was, since both she and Hanold bore the name Lia. Or when, after a conversation the girl was for a moment drawn to exclaim "Oh, how delicious," when he told her that he had recognized her at once [p. 21]. She could not help taking these words in the sense correct so far as she was concerned, which was that she had been delighted by a meeting that gave assistance where it was needed; whereas he, of course, knew nothing of this and referred the remark and exclamation entirely to himself and his own person. On the other hand the remarks made by the girl whose personality shows the most highly developed mind are contrasted to Hanold's direct expressions by their ambiguity. One of their meanings is meant by her to be so veiled as to be able to penetrate only to the subconscious understanding of the other person, whereas the apparent meaning is a cautious answer behind which she retains her freedom and will be able to express the whole truth at the right moment.

Zoë's speech in which she explains the situation to her friend and at the same time succeeds in getting rid of the interrupter [p. 21] is full of ambiguities of this kind. It is in reality a speech made by the author and aimed more at the reader than at Zoë's newly-married friend. In her conversations with Hanold the ambiguity is also effected by Zoë's using the same symbols as he, and in Hanold's

first dream—the equation of repression and burial, and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] understanding of them in Harold's unconscious.

'I have long grown used to being [illegible] [p. 2[illegible]] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] forgetfulness [illegible] In these sentences [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [p. [illegible]] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [p. [illegible]] [illegible] made [illegible] last remark after the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] when she asked [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] shared a meal like this [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [p. 2[illegible]] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

But [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] speech [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] but a necessary [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] between the conscious and the unconscious [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] And [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] speech [illegible] [illegible] lying behind the speech can be [illegible] [illegible] expressed in the same [illegible] of words, we have [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] 'ambiguity'.

In the course of the psych[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] delusion or of an [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of this kind are often produced by the patient, as [illegible] [illegible]

of the briefest duration, and it can happen that the doctor finds himself too in the position of making use of them. In that way it not infrequently happens that with the meaning that is intended for the patient's conscious he stirs up an understanding of the meaning that applies to his unconscious. I know from experience that the part thus played by ambiguity is apt to raise the greatest objection in the uninitiated and to give rise to the greatest misunderstandings. But in any case our author was right in giving a place in his creation to a picture of this characteristic feature of what takes place in the formation of dreams and delusions.

similarity and a complete agreement in essence with a therapeutic method which was introduced into medical practice by Dr. Josef Breuer and myself, and the perfecting of which I have since then devoted myself. This method of treatment to which Breuer gave the name of 'cathartic' but which I prefer to describe as 'analytic' consists as a rule of patient's relating to the physician all that he knows about himself, and bringing to the conscious mind the causes which are supposed to have given rise to his symptoms, namely the repressed impressions and wishful impulses. Upon the removal of these repressions the symptoms disappear. Our investigations have led us to the conclusion that we must look for the motive power of these symptoms in the emotional processes of the patient's life. The experiences which are of importance for the production of the symptoms are of two kinds, recent and impressive ones, and those of the patient's childhood. Only when the physician succeeds in finding the connection between the impressive experience and the forgotten infantile scene, by inducing the patient to reproduce it, is he able to remove the pathological effects of the repression. His task consists in overcoming the resistances which the patient opposes to the reproduction of these repressed memories. The fact that the patient must be induced by the physician to undertake the work of overcoming his resistances does not, as is often supposed, detract from the objectivity of the results obtained by this method. The pressure which the physician exerts in order to induce the patient to reproduce the repressed material is no more than the demand made upon the patient to be truthful. The physician is only the representative of the reality which demands that everything that is painful shall be brought to light. The patient's resistance is the best measure of the amount of pressure which must be exerted. His resistance increases and decreases during the course of the treatment in accordance with the changing relations between the patient and the physician. Every new symptom and every intensification of the symptoms call forth a strong resistance. The patient's resistance is the motive force of the repression, and the sexual instinct. At every attempt to reproduce the unconscious and repressed causes of the impressive experiences, the

[illegible] found [illegible] as it were, in his [illegible] who had [illegible] his [illegible]. We have already laid emphasis on the [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] masculine instinct for mastery were expressed in the [illegible] and [illegible] expressed erotic desire [illegible] as its [illegible]. As [illegible] we may [illegible] the evening after his second interview with Gradiva a love [illegible] the first time struck him as [illegible], though [illegible] made a [illegible] to his earlier [illegible] of [illegible] as [illegible] and [illegible] Next morning, however, he was [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] he would [illegible] with a sense of awe as though he had [illegible] Her [illegible] of 'Hanover' was [illegible] and he [illegible] acquired a sense of respect [illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] has [illegible] between the [illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] knows the [illegible] nature of the delusion better [illegible] knows that a component of [illegible] [illegible] with a component of [illegible] [illegible] about the [illegible] and he [illegible] when [illegible] the close sense to the [illegible] in Hanold's [illegible] [illegible] Jensen's knowledge [illegible] to [illegible] himself the treatment [illegible] by means of being [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] The treatment [illegible] during [illegible] back from [illegible] the repressed memories [illegible] free from [illegible] but two [illegible] had [illegible] in the course [illegible] the therapist had not taken his [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of the dead [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] love me

The procedure which the author makes Zoe adopt for curing [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] shows a far reaching

the instinctual component concerned is necessarily aroused to a renewed struggle with the repressing powers, only to come to terms with them in the final outcome, often to the accompaniment of violent manifestations of reaction. The process of cure is accomplished in a relapse into love, if we may use the primary components of the sexual instinct under the term love, which is not to be misunderstood, for the symptoms on account of which the treatment has been undertaken are nothing other than precipitates of earlier struggles connected with repression or the return of the repressed, and they can only be resolved and washed away by a fresh churning of the same processes. Every psychoanalytic treatment is an attempt at liberating repressed love which has found a meagre outlet in the compromise of a symptom. Indeed the agreement between such treatment and the process of cure described by the author of *Gradiva* reaches its climax in the further fact that even a strong positive tie to the reawakened passion, whether love or hate, is transferred as a matter of course to the figure of the doctor.

It is here that the interest begins, where in the case of Gradiva and in every case which medical therapy can at present attack, the analyst is able to recognize how the work was making its way from the unconscious to consciousness, and the doctor can see that Gradiva had transferred the object of her current, repressed love to the person of Norbert Hanold. The correct current is now directed to a definite goal. The doctor has been a stranger and must endeavour to become a stranger once more, for the cure he is attempting is at a loss what advice to give the patients he has cured as long as in reality they can use their freed libido positively. For this the experiences and resistances of which the doctor therefore makes use complain approximately with the same success to the most diverse cures by love which has been shown us by our author. Ah, this world likes as much to run away from the task before us!

And now for the final question whose answer we have already evaded more than once [Cf. pp. 43 and 74.] Our

views on repression, on the genesis of delusions and allied [illegible] the formation [illegible] of dreams, on the part played by erotic life, and on the method by which such discoveries are [illegible] are far from being the common property of science [illegible] the [illegible] possession of [illegible], persons. If the insight which has enabled the author to construct his ph[illegible] a way [illegible] we have been [illegible] [illegible] the nature of knowledge we [illegible] to learn what were the sources of that knowledge. [illegible] as I said at the beg[illegible] in the dreams in *Gradiva* and their possible [illegible] [[illegible] the author [illegible] question whether he knew anything [illegible] as these. The author replied, as was to be expected [illegible] that [illegible] he said, had inspired *Gradiva* and [illegible] if there was anyone whom it did not please [illegible] leave it alone. He had no suspicion of [illegible] pleased his readers.

It is [illegible] possible that the [illegible] stop at this. He [illegible] knowledge of the [illegible] he has [illegible] [illegible] we have [illegible] in his work. I [illegible] there are [illegible] that we have [illegible] d[illegible] work [illegible] creat[illegible] more [illegible] is [illegible] own [illegible] which the strang[illegible] Let every [illegible] make up his [illegible] [illegible] We [illegible] to [illegible] the term [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] and purposes, so that [illegible] good faith, but

See [illegible] p. 4.

6.9 [illegible]

that nevertheless we have not discovered anything in his work that is not already in it. We probably draw from the same source and work upon the same object, each of us by another method. And the agreement of our results seems to guarantee that we have both worked correctly. Our procedure consists in the conscious observation of abnormal mental processes in other people so as to be able to recast and announce their laws. The author no doubt proceeds differently. He directs his attention to the unconscious in his own mind, he listens to its possible developments and lends them artistic expression instead of suppressing them by conscious criticism. Thus he experiences in himself what we learn from others of the laws which the activities of the unconscious must obey. But he need not state these laws, nor even be clearly aware of them; as a result of the tolerance of his knowledge, they are incorporated within his creations. We discover these laws by analysing his writings just as we find them from cases of neurosis, but the conclusion seems inescapable that either both of us, the writer and the doctor, have misunderstood the unconscious in the same way, or we have both understood it correctly. This conclusion is of great value to us, and it is on its account that it has been worth while to investigate by the methods of medical psychoanalysis the way in which the formation and the cure of the neuroses as well as the dreams are represented in Jensen's *Gradiva*.

We would seem to have reached the end. But an attentive reader might remind us that at the beginning [p. 7] we threw out an assertion that dreams are wishes represented as fulfilled and that we gave no proof of this. Well, in our reply what we have described in these pages might show how little justification there is for trying to cover the explanations we have to give of dreams with the single formula that dreams are wish-fulfilments. Nevertheless the assertion stands and can easily be proved too for the dreams in *Gradiva*. The latent dream-thoughts—we know now what is meant by

POSTSCRIPT TO THE SECOND EDITION (1912)

In the five years that have passed since this story was completed, psycho-analytic research has summoned up the courage to approach the creations of imaginative writers with yet another purpose in view. It no longer seeks only to find explanations of the problems that arise from unparalleled mental achievements in human beings or to demonstrate the connections between impressions and memories from which the author has borrowed the material for his work and the methods and processes by which he has converted this material into a work of art. It has turned out that these questions can be most easily answered in the case of writers who, like our Wilhelm Jensen, were themselves in the habit of giving themselves over to their imaginative activity in a spirit of modest self-criticism. Soon after the publication of my analytic examination of *Gradiva* I attempted to interest the author himself in these new tasks of psycho-analytic research. But he refused his co-operation.

A friendly fortune has since then drawn my attention to two other of the author's short stories, which may stand in a similar relation to *Gradiva*, as preliminary studies or earlier attempts at a satisfactory poetical solution of the same problem in the psychology of love. The first of these stories, 'Der rote Sonnenschirm'[1] (The Red Parasol), resembles *Gradiva* by the recurrence in it of a number of small, *motifs* such as white flowers of the dead, a forgotten sketch-book, and a significant small animal—the butterfly and the lizard in *Gradiva*—but more especially by the repetition of the main situation—the appearance in the misty grey of a summer's morning of a girl who had died or was believed to have died. In the rose Sonnenschirm the scene of the apparition is a ruined castle set

[1] ['The Red Parasol']

as are the frescoes of the excavated Pompeian villa in *Gradiva*. The other story, 'Im gotischen Hause',[1] shows no such resemblances either to *Gradiva* or to 'Der rote Schrein' in its manifest content. But the fact that it was given an external unity with the latter story by being published with it under a common title[2] points unmistakably to their having a closely related content. It is easy to see that all three stories treat of the same theme: the development of a love in 'Der rote Schrein', the inversion of a love as an after-effect of an incestuous association in childhood of a brother-and-sister kind. I gather further from a review by Frau Countess Baudissin in the Vienna daily paper *Die Zeit* (4 February 1912) that Jensen's last novel *Fremdlinge unter den Menschen*,[3] which contains much material from the author's own childhood, describes the history of a man who sees a sister in the woman he loves. In neither of the two earlier stories is there a trace of the main *motif* of *Gradiva*, the girl's peculiarly charming gait with the nearly perpendicular posture of her foot.

The relief of the girl who steps along in this way, which Jensen describes as being Roman, and to which he gives the name of 'Gradiva', is in fact derived from the zenith of Greek art. It is in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican (No. 644) and has been restored and interpreted by Heuser [1908]. By the combination of 'Gradiva' and some other fragments in Florence and Munich two reliefs were constructed, each representing three figures, which seem to be Hermes, as the Herald, the goddesses of vegetation and the dewers of the fertilizing dew who are linked to them.[4]

[1] ['In the Gothic House.']

[2] [Wilhelm Jensen, *Zwei Novellen*, Berlin, Emil Felber, 1892.]

[3] [*Fremdlinge unter den Menschen*, G. Reimer, 1912.]

[4] [Jensen's description of the relief as Roman is one of several errors in his account of Greek art. The original of 'Gradiva' is a Greek relief of the fourth century B.C. and is numbered 1294.]

PSYCHO ANALYSIS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACTS IN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

(1906)

EDITOR'S NOTE

TATBESTANDSDIAGNOSTIK UND PSYCHOANALYSE

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS

1906 *Arch. Krim. Anthrop.*, **26** (1), 1 ff.
1909 *S. f. ä. S. N.*, **2**, 1, 1–21. 1912, 2nd ed., 1921, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, **10**, 197–209.
1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 3–15.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS.

'The Testimony of Witnesses and Psychoanalysis'

1920 *S.P.H.*, 216–25. (In 3rd ed. only. Tr. A. A. Brill.)

'Psycho-Analysis and the Ascertaining of Truth in Courts of Law'

1924 *C.P.* **2**, 13–24. (Tr. E. B. M. Herford.)

The present translation, with a changed title, is based on the one published in 1924.

This was originally delivered in June 1906 as a lecture, at the request of Professor Löffler (Professor of Jurisprudence in Vienna), before his seminar at the University. There is some confusion as to the date of publication. The number of the periodical in which it appeared is stated on its front page to have been issued on 'December 21, 1907'. This, however, is certainly a misprint for '1906', since the following numbers are dated 'March 6, 1907' and 'April 29, 1907'.

The lecture is of some historical interest, since it contains Freud's first published mention of the name of Jung (p. 104 [1]).

[1] It happens that Adler's name, too, makes its first appearance here (p. 105).

Freud had begun to correspond with Jung on a couple of months before the two men met for their first meeting which took place at Freud's home in Vienna.

Jung's work gives evidence of the immediate impact of Freud's views on psychopathology. Jung introduced the Zurich school to Freud's theories and the theory of complexes to Freud's views. The Zurich school began to appear in print about two years earlier. Jung and Riklin, 1904, and Jung's own first published two or three studies on the application of his procedure to legal evidence only a few months before Freud gave his lecture (e.g. Jung, 1908, referred to on p. 104 below).

At a later date, after Jung's secession, Freud, in his notes 'On the History of the Psycho-Analytic Movement' (1914), described the importance both of the association experiments and of the word-association tests (*Standard Ed.* 14, 26–7). And even here his appreciation of them has a background of reservation. He is at pains to show that the Zurich findings are in fact only a special application of underlying psychoanalytic principles. And in the previous paragraph he emphasizes the danger of drawing too hasty conclusions from the results of association tests.

Since this is the first of Freud's published writings in the Zurich tradition, a few remarks on the subject may be appropriate here. Association experiments were first systematically made by Wundt, and later introduced into psychiatry by Kraepelin and, more especially, Aschaffenburg (under the direction of Bleuler, then at the head of the Burghölzli psychiatric asylum in Zurich and not Jung, his principal assistant), a series of similar experiments were carried out, of which the findings were published from 1904 onwards. They were later collected into two volumes (Jung, 1906; Jung and Riklin, 1906). Apart from a fresh classification of the forms taken by the verbal reactions to stimulus words, the Zurich findings were chiefly of interest for the stress they laid on the importance of one particular factor in influencing the reactions. This factor was described in the first of these

publications Jung and Riklin 1904 as an 'emotionally coloured [illegible] complex'. The authors explain this in a footnote, where, after stating that many of Jung's reaction-time experiments had produced emotion-coloured words, and that they had thus come to use the word 'complex' in this sense, it is added that Freud's psychoanalytical researches to the present question bring to light the significance of repressed, and thus unconscious, material. What is meant by a complex may or may not consist of repressed material. Except for this one reference as an abbreviation there seems to be no other mention in the word complex as used by Freud, and it is unlikely that this was in fact its first introduction in this sense. As we learn from Ernest Jones (1955, 34 and 327), Zurich, the well-known British psychoanalyst, claimed to have originated its use. But in fact it occurs three times, with what appears to be exactly the same meaning, in an early work of Freud's own, the case of Frau Emmy von N. in the *Studies on Hysteria* (1895d). *Standard Ed.* 2 (1955), 52, where Breuer, the other author, also seems at any rate to lay more stress than these early Zurich psychoanalysts on the factor of unconsciousness, when he writes that 'ideas that are aroused but do not enter consciousness sometimes accumulate and form complexes of unconscious strata withdrawn from consciousness'. When at a later period the term became a catchword not only in psychology but in popular usage, the feature of the group of ideas concerned being 'withdrawn

[illegible] history (1905e) first saw the light.

[illegible] *Standard Ed.* 2 [illegible] *Hysteria* [illegible] subsequent ones, this was changed [illegible]

from consciousness' – that is to say 'repressed' – came to form an essential part of the word's connotation.

Freud's later contacts with jurisprudence were few and far between. The third of his studies on character-types (1916*d*) has a direct bearing on the psychology of crime. And on two later occasions he made reports in connection with criminal cases. In one of these (1931*d*) he was asked to comment on an expert opinion given in a murder case, and in the other he wrote a memorandum for the defence in a case of assault (Jones, 1957, 93). This memorandum (written in 1922) is not extant. In both these instances he wrote to deprecate any half-baked application of psycho-analytic theories in legal proceedings.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACTS IN LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

GENTLEMEN, There is a growing recognition of the untrustworthiness of statements made by witnesses on which, nevertheless, so many convictions are based in our court cases, and this has quickened in all of you, future judges and officers of the court, an interest in a new method of investigation, the aim of which is to compel the accused person himself to establish his own guilt or innocence by objective signs. This method consists in a psychological experiment and is based on psychological research. It is closely connected with certain views which have only recently come to the front in medical psychology. I understand that you are already engaged in testing the use and possible misuse of this new method by means of what might be called 'dummy exercises', and I have gladly accepted the invitation of your President, Professor Isserlin, to explain to you more fully the relation of this method to psychology.

You are all acquainted with the game played at parties or among children when a word is called out at random and someone has to say a second word, which, when it is joined to the first results in a compound word long termed. For instance, 'steam' 'ship', making steamship. The 'association experiment' introduced into psychology by the scholar Wundt is nothing more than a modification of this children's game, merely omitting one rule of the game.

The experiment is as follows: a word termed the 'stimulus word' is called out to the subject and he replies as quickly as possible with some other word that occurs to him; the so-called 'reaction' has the object of this reaction not being restricted by anything. The points to be observed are the

time required for the reaction and the *reaction* which may be of many different kinds between a stimulus word and the reaction word. It cannot be [illegible] that in the case of a very much [illegible] these experiments [illegible] was to be expected, however, since they were carried out without [illegible] any collateral question and without any guiding idea which could be brought to bear on the results. They became significant only when [illegible] had proposed a psychological explanation for these association experiments. The experiments which they carried out to prove their value from the point of view asserted that the reaction to these stimulus words could not be a chance one but was rather determined by the nature of complexes present in the mind of the person examined.

It has become customary to speak of a complex in the sense of this term, which is due to Freud, as a feeling-toned complex. This means that the stimulus word, as a result of [illegible] by the [illegible] touching the complex or not touching the complex, sometimes making a complex which was [illegible] and sometimes not making a complex which was [illegible]. Such a complex [illegible] the reaction is a very remarkable [illegible] with [illegible] disposed [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] to the stimulus word. It is true, although [illegible] that [illegible] a previous complex [illegible] part [illegible] at work [illegible] experiment [illegible] reaction [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the subject himself to give the reason for his reaction. Experiments like [illegible] Jung [illegible], Freud [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] or [illegible] [illegible] to be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

Let us now glance at the earlier history of [illegible]. Bleuler and Jung [illegible] the reaction of the subject to [illegible] examination is determined [illegible] [illegible]. In 1901 I published a work[1] in which I [illegible] that a [illegible] number of [illegible] which were [illegible] to the [illegible] and are

[1] [This is probably Freud's first published use of the word in his [illegible]. Ed.]

[1] *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

on the contrary strictly determined, and to that extent I contributed towards restricting the arbitrary factor in psychology. I took as examples slips of the tongue, forgetfulness of names, slips of the tongue or pen and the mislaying of objects. I showed that what is remembered as to the tongue's slip, or the forgetfulness of a name, or the mislaying of an object, that is responsive, but that in every case a disturbing emotional element or a complex can be brought to light which has altered the sense of the intention, or altered the apparent form of a slip of the tongue or otherwise. I explained the small actions which are performed apparently by chance and without any purpose—actions of playing or fooling with things, and so on—and revealed them as 'symptomatic actions' linked with a hidden meaning and intended to give unobtrusive expression to it. I found, moreover, that not even a first name can occur in a dream without having been determined by some powerful emotional complex. Even arithmetical numbers that one believes one has chosen at random can be traced to the influence of a hidden complex of this kind. A few years after this, a colleague of mine, Dr Alfred Adler,[2] was able to substantiate this most astonishing assertion by some very striking examples. Adler, also,[3] Once one has accustomed oneself to this view of determination in psychopathology, one is startled on referring to the findings in the psychopathology of everyday life and to the ideas which have arisen in the subject in an association experiment to find that nothing is arbitrary or undetermined by an emotional element that is operative in him.

And now, Gentlemen, let us return to the association

[illegible] Freud was [illegible]
'Dora' [illegible] *of Errors* [illegible] Chapter XI [illegible] Example 3.
[illegible]
[illegible] these was [illegible] *Errors* [illegible] Chapter XI, Example 3.]

experiment. In the kind of experiment we have referred to so far, it was the person under examination who explained to us the origin of his reactions, and the experiments, if they are subject to this condition, will be of no interest from the point of view of judicial procedure. But how would it be if we were to make a change in our planning of the experiment? Might we not proceed as one does in solving an equation with involves several quantities, where one can take any one of them as the starting point—by making *either* the *a* or the *b* into the *x* we are looking for? Up to now in our experiments it has been the *complex* that has been unknown to us. We have used stimulus-words selected at random, and the subject under examination has revealed to us the complex brought to expression by those stimulus-words. But let us now set about it differently. Let us take a complex that is *known* to us and ourselves react to it with stimulus-words deliberately chosen, and let us then transfer the *x* to the person who is reacting. Will it then be possible to decide from the way in which he reacts, whether the complex we have chosen is also present in him? You can see that this way of planning the experiment corresponds exactly to the method adopted by an examining magistrate who is trying to find out whether something of which he is aware is also known to the accused as an agent. Wertheimer and Klein, two pupils of Hans Gross, the Professor of Criminal Law in Prague, seem to have been the first to adopt this change, which is of such importance for your purposes, in the planning of the experiment.[1]

You already know from your own experiments that in this question of the subject's reactions, several points are to be taken into account in deciding whether he possesses the complex to which you are reacting with your stimulus-words. I will enumerate these points for you one by one.

1. The *content* of the reaction may be unusual, which

[1] Cf. Jung, "On [A further reference to this will be found in a footnote added in 1937 to Chapter XII, Section B of *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.—Ed.]

requires explanation. The *reaction-time* may be prolonged, for example, at stimulus-words which have touched the complex, and a certain number of the so-called indifferent words as well as several which are as long as the ordinary reactions. Such a process we call *reaction-time disturbance*. You know the remarkable fact that is meant by this. If the subject has been given a word-association experiment consisting of a comparatively long list of words and has answered over the end of the experiment the stimulus-words with a remarkable promptness, he will produce the same reactions as in the first series, except when the stimulus-word has touched a complex in which case he is very much disturbed by the first reaction by means of one or more [illegible]. The phenomena of *perseveration* [illegible] might be better to use here to designate what may occur. When a complex is touched by a stimulus-word which has been by a number of stimulus-words often a point in the reaction for a number of the following words, the person tested answers to these words numerically as well. When one asks these questions are present under the impression that the complex which is known to us is present as a disturbance in the person who is being questioned. This disturbance is taken by very many that the complex [illegible] to contract [illegible] and are to be disregarded [illegible].

I know you are at the moment not very much with the [illegible] of such experiments which seem to [illegible] and I should like to [illegible] that [illegible] material which [illegible] and [illegible] the two fields.

[illegible] seem very different from [illegible] the [illegible] employed for certain [illegible]

nervous diseases—what are known as the psychoneuroses—of which hysteria and obsessional ideas may be taken as samples. The method is called 'psychoanalysis', it was evolved by me from the cathartic method of therapy first practised by Josef Breuer in Vienna.[1] To combat your surprise I must draw an analogy between the criminal and the hysteric. In both we are concerned with a secret, with something hidden within in order not to be paraded. Now I must at once point out the difference. In the case of the criminal it is a secret which he knows and hides from you, whereas in the case of the hysteric it is a secret which he himself does not know either, which is hidden even from himself. How is this possible? Now we know, through laborious research, that all these illnesses are the result of the patient having succeeded in repressing certain ideas and memories that are strongly charged with affect, together with the wishes that arise from them, in such a way that they play no part in what we call the conscious thought-processes and thus remain unknown to us. But in the unconscious psychical material these ideas and wishes are given a certain organized psychical existence and psychical symptoms will appear in the patient just the same way as a guilty conscience does. In one respect, therefore, the difference between the criminal and the hysteric is fundamental.

The task of the therapist, however, is the same as that of the examining magistrate. We have to uncover the hidden psychical material, and in order to do this we have invented a number of detective devices, some of which it seems that even the police of the law are now about to copy from us.

It will interest you from the point of view of your own profession to hear how we doctors proceed in psychoanalysis. After the patient has given us a first account of his history we ask him to give himself up to the thoughts that come to him spontaneously and to say without any critical reserve whatever comes into his head. We start, as you see, on one assumption, which he does not share in the least,

[1] Cf. Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, 1895.

[See point 2 on p. 107]

to be at all experimental; and when the patient assures us he cannot imagine why he should hesitate to state ... The pauses which occur in psycho-analysis are as a rule many times as great as the delays that are observed in the reaction experiments.

Another of the indications of a complex, the change in the content of the reaction,[1] is a very ordinary phenomenon in the technique of psycho-analysis. We must consider even slight deviations in our patients from the ordinary forms of expression as a sign of some hidden element, and we are quite willing to expose ourselves to ridicule by making interpretations of this sort. Indeed, we are on the look-out for remarks which have an ambiguity and in which the hidden meaning glimmers through an innocent expression. Not only patients but colleagues who are ignorant of the technique and peculiar circumstances of psycho-analysis are sceptical and accuse us of being too clever; but we have found that we are nearly always in the right. After all, it is not difficult to understand that the only way in which a carefully guarded secret betrays itself is by subtle, or at most ambiguous, allusions. In the end the patient becomes accustomed to giving us by means of what is known as 'indirect representation', all that we require for uncovering the complex.

The third indication of a complex, mistakes (that is, changes) in the reproduction [of the reactions],[2] is also made use of, though in a more restricted field, in the technique of psycho-analysis. One task with which we are often faced is the interpretation of dreams, that is, the translation of the remembered content of a dream into its hidden meaning. It sometimes happens that we are uncertain at which point to set about the task, and in that case we may make use of a rule, discovered empirically, which recommends us to get the dreamer to tell us his dream once more. In doing so, he usually alters his modes of expression in some parts of it

[1] [Point 1 on p. 106.]
[2] [Point 3 on p. 107.]

whose reproduction is most accurately. The points at which his reproduction is most erroneous owing to omissions, and the following remarks as well are the points which we shall consider, because the inaccuracy generates a connection with the complex and promises the best approach to the secret meaning of the dream.[4]

You must not get the impression that we have come to an end of the peculiar disagreement which I have been following up. If I had chosen a more complicated example of *perseveration*[3] as manifested in psychoanalytic treatment the difference could only arise from the special conditions of your experiments I would not allow the effect of the complex to develop. Scarcely have I begun to abstract the subject's attention by a new and probably unexpected stimulus word and then you may observe that perseveration continues to operate with the complex despite the interference. In psychoanalysis on the other hand, we avoid such interferences and keep the patient occupied with the complex. Since in our procedure *everything*, so to speak, is perseveration, we cannot observe that phenomenon as an isolated occurrence.

We must give up the attempt to explain, by means of the kind I have described, the mistakes we make in the performance of actions repressed from motives of self-criticism. It is to remove the possibility of the explanation of these phenomena from which we are shrinking that before we draw any conclusions from these observations we have excluded the possibility of error by the psychological factors in the witnesses.

The chief difference has already been named. I can explain the secret behind from his own consciousness, the criminal must hide it from his own. I can find out there is a memory, he has forgotten it; there is a memory in every sense where in the other there is nothing but a presence of ignorance. Connected with this simple difference, which

[See on *Interpretation of Dreams*, Standard Ed., 5, 510.]

[4] [Point 4 on p. 107.]

is an practice of importance. In psycho-analysis the patient assists with his conscious efforts to combat his resistance, because he expects to gain something from the investigation, namely his recovery. The criminal, on the other hand, does not work with you; if he did he would be working against his whole urge. As laugh to make up for it is, however, as you are entitled to regard your arrival at your investigation as an objective certainty on your part. We treat our therapy on principle as if the patient himself should also arrive at the same certainty. But it remains to be seen how far your procedure will be rendered more difficult or be altered by the lack of co-operation on the part of the subject of your examination. This is a situation which you can never create in your experiments in schools, since the colleague who is playing the part of the accused man remains a fellow-worker all the while, and I assume, gives his consent as a determination not to betray himself.

If we look more deeply into the comparison between the two situations it will become clear to you at once that psycho-analysis is concerned with a simpler, specific form of work than is meeting what shall happen in the main, whereas in your work the task is a more complex one. That is the case as the psycho-analyst is invariably concerned with a repressed sexual complex in the widest sense, as a difference which may also be of other importance. But here is something else which you must not. The aim of psycho-analysis is absolutely clear: every case of neurosis have to be uncovered which are repressed or those feelings of pleasure which provoke resistance if an attempt is made to bring them into consciousness. This resistance is as it were localized; it arises at the frontier between unconscious and conscious. In your cases what is concerned as a resistance which becomes entirely from consciousness. You cannot dismiss this difference out of hand. You will first have to determine experimentally whether conscious resistance is betrayed by exactly the same indications as unconscious resistance. Further, you cannot yet be certain, in my opinion, whether

you may interpret your objective indications of a complex as a 'resistance', as we psychotherapists do. It may happen with your experimental subjects even that a group of very frequently with one stimulus-word a complex proves unpleasurably toned, and the question then arises whether such a complex will produce the same reaction as a complex that is unpleasurably toned.

I should also like to point out that your test may possibly be subject to a criticism which does not, by its very nature, arise in psycho-analysis. In your experiments you may be dealing with a man for whom a certain piece of information reacts as if he were guilty because a strong sense of guilt that already exists in him seizes upon the accusation in the particular instance. You must not regard this possibility as an evil that you have to put up with in certain cases, where such events can more strongly be observed. It sometimes happens that a child who has been accused of a misdeed strongly denies the charge but at the same time weeps like a confessed sinner. You may perhaps think that the child is lying when he asserts his innocence, but this is not necessarily so. It can be that he has in fact not committed the particular crime with which you have charged him but that he has committed one of which you know nothing and of which you are not accusing him. He thus gives truthful answers, being guilty of the one misdeed, while at the same time betraying a sense of guilt in connection with the other. In this respect he is in a similar position to the adult neurotic who behaves just like a criminal. Many people are like this, and the study of them, regardless whether your technique was aimed in this direction or not, yields results different from those which are ready to hand. Now, one more point. You know that, according to the rules governing criminal proceedings, you may not subject the accused to any procedure which tends to surprise. He would first have to be made aware that such an experiment is a matter

[illegible] in the case of [illegible] the [illegible] of his conviction [illegible] the [illegible] case [illegible]

for him of not betraying himself. It must then be asked whether one can expect that such reactions will be subject to attention as directed towards the complex or whether it is directed away from it, and how far the total mental process will be altered thereby.

It is precisely because the situations with which our investigations are so various as that psychology takes a very lively interest in its results, and I should not like you to despair of their practical utility so soon. My own work is so far removed from the practical application that perhaps you will allow me to make one further suggestion. However unpretentious experiments such as ours may be for preparatory purposes and for the determination of problems, you will never be able to replace with them the same psychological situation as in the examination of a determinate incriminating case. Our experiments remain empty exercises which they can never afford a basis for practical application in criminal trials. If we do not want to abandon such an application for ever, the following experiment suggests itself. You might be allowed what might be made worthy to undertake such examinations over a number of years in every criminal prosecution, *without their result having to influence the verdict of the Court*. It would be noted if the Court were never influenced or the conclusions were always drawn from other examinations than the question of the prisoner's guilt. After years of investigating and comparing the results so obtained it could be seen what the services were that this psychological method of investigation would be rendered. I know, of course, that in the present state of procedure such a thing as this has not the slightest chance of being

OBSESSIVE ACTIONS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

(1907)

ZWANGSHANDLUNGEN UND RELIGIONSÜBUNGEN

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS

1907 *Z. Religionspsychol.*, **1** (1) [April], 4–12
1909 *S K S A*, **2**, 122–31. (1912. 2nd ed., 1922., 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, **10**, 210–20.
1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 129–39.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'Obsessive Acts and Religious Practices'
1924 *C.P.*, **2**, 25–35. (Tr. R. C. McWatters.

The present translation, with a slightly changed title, is a modified version of the one published in 1924.

This paper, written in February, 1907, for the first issue of a periodical directed by Bresler and Vorbrodt, was read by Freud on March 2 before the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society, at a meeting at which Jung was present for the first time. This was Freud's introductory incursion into the psychology of religion, and, as he points out in Section V of his 'Short Account of Psycho-Analysis' (1924*f*), it formed a definite step towards his much extended treatment of the subject five years later in *Totem and Taboo*. But besides this the paper is of great interest as being Freud's first discussion of obsessional neurosis since the Breuer period some ten years earlier. He here gives a sketch of the mechanism of obsessional symptoms which he was to elaborate in the case history of the 'Rat Man' (1909*d*), whose treatment, however, he had not begun when he wrote the present work.

OBSESSIVE ACTIONS AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

I am certainly not the first person to have been struck by the resemblance between what are called obsessive actions and certain religious practices. The nature of the resemblance, however, seems to me more than a superficial one, so that an examination of the origin of these ceremonials may perhaps draw attention to analogies about the psychological processes of religiousness.

Persons who carry out obsessive actions or ceremonials belong to the same class as those who suffer from obsessive thinking, from obsessive impulses and the like. I shall therefore treat them as a part of a comprehensive whole when I speak of "obsessional neurosis". [Footnote 1] I shall remind the reader that the material for this neurosis proceeds from experiences, and that making certain experiences in childhood is an essential condition for the development of the disease. We must not be content with knowledge of these facts since we have learnt that a certain kind of constitutional predisposition is also necessary. Perhaps we shall be able to assign to each of the two factors its proper share in the manifestations of the illness.

No one who has ever had to make a study of obsessional

[1] See Freud, "Bemerkungen über einen Fall von Zwangsneurose" [Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis], *Sammlung kleiner Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, Vol. III, 1909. [Translated in the first volume of the present edition, 1924.]

[illegible] every-day actions, small acts, omissions or restrictions [illegible] which have always to be carried out in the same or in a methodically varied manner. These actions give the impression of being meant for ceremonies, and they seem quite analogous to them. Nor do they appear thereby to the patient himself yet [illegible] giving them up for any deviation from the ceremonial is visited by intolerable anxiety which [illegible] at once to make sure that good [illegible] as the ceremonial actions themselves are the [illegible] which are prescribed, enumerated and [illegible] by the ceremonial for this case, dressing, undressing, going to bed or standing by the [illegible]. The performance of a ceremony can be described by replacing it as it were by a set of written laws for [illegible] to take note of the ceremonial the exact [illegible] part [illegible] best thing to [illegible] must be [illegible] and [illegible] set smoothly out the [illegible] of the [illegible] in a manner, and [illegible] must be [illegible] determined position [illegible] other [illegible] may [illegible] [illegible] cases the [illegible] seems to be [illegible] the [illegible] of an [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible], but the [illegible] with what is [illegible] and the [illegible] which is [illegible] the [illegible] as a [illegible]. [illegible] for the most part [illegible] the [illegible] of their people during its [illegible].

We [illegible] a very [illegible] obsessive [illegible] in several [illegible] are [illegible] by simple [illegible] given [illegible] by means of phrases and [illegible]. We shall not expect to find a sharp [illegible] between ceremonials and 'obsessive actions'. As a rule obsessive [illegible] have grown out of ceremonials. Besides these two [illegible] and hindrances [illegible] make up the [illegible] of the disorder, these, in fact, only continue the work of the obsessive actions, [illegible] as some things are

[illegible] subject to [illegible]

[illegible] having to [illegible] upon in the first instance only to the [illegible] at [illegible] treat [illegible] for many years. And [illegible] these [illegible] many [illegible] fact that they are [illegible] during a part of [illegible] of hours on their secret doings, hence from view like Mélusine.[1]

It is easy to see [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] in the [illegible] complete [illegible] with which they are carried out in every detail. But the [illegible] glaring that they make the comparison appear [illegible] in contrast to these [illegible] turn the last of their prisoners [illegible] the [illegible] above all, however the fact that, [illegible] religious ceremonies are full of signs that have a symbolic meaning, these [illegible] less [illegible] half [illegible] precisely his sharpest [illegible] religious [illegible] the psychoanalytic technique investigates the [illegible]

[1] [A [illegible] woman [illegible] existence as a water-nymph.]

to the true meaning of obsessive actions. In the course of such an investigation the appearance which obsessive actions assume of being foolish and senseless is completely effaced and the reason for their having that appearance is explained. It is found that the obsessive actions are perfectly significant in every detail, that they express repressed interests and the personality is given expression in them, that they are symptoms and strivings that are endowed with affect. I can do this in two ways, either by direct analysis of the symptoms, representations and affects which are concealed behind the obsessive actions, or by synthesis.

It is great advantage to start with a part of the symptom which is clear, the most significant part. Those who are familiar with the psychology of dreams will recognize at once that the position of this part in the whole is analogous to that which a large manifest dream-element occupies in relation to the latent dream-thoughts. It is the most striking and for the most part the most distorted, and therefore the most characteristic part of the whole.

A girl who was obliged to wash herself a considerable number of times every day was compelled to repeat certain words to herself while she was washing. The significance of these words was not clear to her, but they were the following: "Dear God, let me be pure, pure as Thou didst make the pure Virgin Mary when Thou didst create her." Here, then, was a striking contrast between the sensuality of the washing and the purity of the words. The latter was clearly the dominant element in the conflict, and the washing was the result of a compromise between the two. The compulsion was explained when it was found that the washing was a symbolic representation of the wish to be pure, pure as the Virgin Mary. The washing was the most striking part of the whole, and the wish for purity was the most significant part of the washing. The latter was the dominant element in the conflict, and the washing was the result of a compromise between the two. The compulsion was explained when it was found that the washing was a symbolic representation of the wish to be pure, pure as the Virgin Mary.

[1] See the discussion of symbolism in the interpretation of dreams, [illegible] edition.

husband, to whom she remained [illegible]. She [illegible] explanation of her compulsion in this sentence: 'It is so hard to part from anything, a husband, a chair [illegible] on which one has once settled.'

(a) Over a period of time she used to [illegible] especially [illegible] less obsessive action. She [illegible] there was [illegible]. She would straighten [illegible] in a particular [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] later had [illegible] up to the [illegible] and [illegible] consist [illegible] current [illegible]. In [illegible] that on the [illegible] there was a stain and that she was [illegible] in such a way that the [illegible] was bound to see the stain [illegible] proof [illegible] her experience in her marriage [illegible] had [illegible] given [illegible]. On her wedding-night her husband had met with a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] he came [illegible] running from [illegible] to try [illegible]. In the morning he said he would feel ashamed [illegible] the [illegible] and he took [illegible] bed [illegible] made [illegible] the red [illegible] in a [illegible] was very [illegible] here, she was [illegible] the wedding-night [illegible] and between them make up the [illegible].

(b) Another [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] her [illegible] as [illegible] she was still [illegible] her [illegible] her [illegible] was [illegible] day,

[1] [In German *T[illegible]* and *Bett* [illegible] a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] *Standard Ed.* 12 [illegible]

being short of small change, she asked him to change a five-kronen piece for her. He did so, pocketed the large coin and declared with a gallant air that he would never part with it, since it had passed through her hands. At their later meetings she was frequently tempted to challenge him to show her the five-kronen piece, as though she wanted to convince herself that she could believe in his attentions. But she refrained, on the good reason that it is impossible to distinguish between coins of the same value. Thus her doubt remained unresolved; it left her with the compulsion to write the serial number of each bank-note, by which it can be distinguished from all others of the same value.[1]

These few examples, selected from the great number I have met with, are merely intended to illustrate my assertion that in obsessive actions everything has its meaning and can be interpreted. The same is true of ceremonials in the strict sense, only that the evidence for this would require a more circumstantial presentation. I am quite aware of how far our explanations of obsessive actions are apparently taking us from the sphere of religious thought.

It is one of the conditions of the illness that the person who is obeying the compulsion carries it out without understanding its meaning—or at any rate its chief meaning. It is only thanks to the efforts of psycho-analytic treatment that he becomes conscious of the meaning of his obsessive action and, with it, of the motives that are impelling him to it. We express this important fact by saying that the obsessive action serves to express unconscious motives and ideas. In this, we seem to find a further departure from religious practices; but we must remember that as a rule the ordinary pious individual, too, performs a ceremonial without concerning himself with its significance, although priests and scientific investigators may be familiar with the mostly symbolic meaning of the ritual. In all believers, however, the motives which impel

equivalent at that time to four shillings or a dollar.]

[1] [Freud has used this case again at considerable length in Lecture XVII of his *Introductory Lectures* (1916–17).]

them to religious practices are unknown to them or are represented in consciousness by others which are advanced in their place.

An access of this sense activity has already given us some sort of an insight into her causes and into the course of events which bring them to an end. We may say that the Neurotic loses control of his psychical processes because he behaves as if he were actuated by a sense of guilt of which, however, he knows nothing, so that we must call this sense of guilt unconscious. Its relation to the contents of consciousness is that of a repressed idea to the preconscious. This sense of guilt has its source in certain early mental events, but it is constantly being revived by renewed temptations which arise whenever the situation of the contemporary provokes them. Moreover it proves to be a lurking sense of expectant anxiety, an expectation of misfortune which is felt, through the mechanism of projection, as coming from the direction of the temptation. When the ceremonial is first being constructed the patient's main motive is that he must carry out the ceremonial lest something worse should befall him. As a rule the nature of the threatened misfortune is to be expected from the well-known punishments. But what is already apparent from the beginning is the tendency which shows itself in the whole course of the illness, namely to replace the important and dreaded by the trifling and unimportant, to displace the interest from the principal matter on to something indifferent, which thus becomes a *substitutive measure*.

The sense of guilt remains unconscious as far as its motives are concerned, but it becomes conscious in the form of fears of possible misfortune. We know that all anxiety-states are derivatives of libidinal impulses which have undergone repression, and that anxiety corresponds to an expectation [...]

[The first two words of this sentence are illegible in the original.] [...] Freud's views on the relation of the sense of guilt to religion will be found to play such an important part in his later writings. A reference to the subject was already made in *The Ego and the Id* (1923b). The way had been prepared for the notion, however, very much earlier in Section II of the first paper on 'The Neuro-Psychoses of Defence' (1894a).]

undertaking seem to have the value of defensive or protective measures.

A deeper insight into the mechanism of obsessional neurosis is gained if we take into account the primary fact which lies at the bottom of it. This is always *the return of an instinctual impulse*[1] which is a component of the sexual instinct which was present in the subject's constitution and which was allowed to find expression at a wholly or largely archaic and but later stage of development. In the course of the repression of this instinct a special conscientiousness is created which is directed against the instinct's aims; but this psychical reaction-formation feels insecure and constantly threatened by the instinct which is lurking in the unconscious. The inducement to the repressed instinct is felt as a temptation and during the process of repression itself anxiety is generated, which gains control over the future in the form of *expectant* anxiety. The process of repression which leads to obsessional neurosis must be considered first as one which is only partly successful and which increasingly threatens to fail. It may then be compared to an impending conflict, fresh psychical efforts are continually required to counterbalance the forward pressure of the instinct.[2] Thus the ceremonial and obsessive actions arise partly as a defence against the temptation and partly as a protection against the evil which is expected. Again, to the extent to which the protective measures seem more important than the prohibitions come into play with the purpose of keeping at a distance situations that give rise to temptation. Prohibitions take the place of obsessive actions; they, too, seem just as a phobia is designed to avert a hysterical attack. And as a ceremonial represents the sum of the conditions subject to which something that is not yet a solution or liberation is permitted, just as the Church's

[1] *Triebregung*. This appears to be Freud's first published use of what was to become one of his most used terms.]

[2] [This passage foreshadows the concept of ambivalence, which is developed a few pages later in Section IV of the paper on The Unconscious (1915*e*), *Standard Ed.*, **14**, 180 ff.]

marriage ceremony signifies for the believer a sanctioning of sexuality which would otherwise be [illegible] Religious ceremonial expresses, as do obsessional neurotic symptoms, both the conflicting impulses between which the struggle is waged. Religion seeks to prevent the forbidden impulses from breaking through to performance, and to this end it erects prohibitions and commandments against them. But the ceremonial also provides a channel for the discharge of these impulses, and in so doing the defence comes to appear secondary and more to the prescribed actions through which the instinctual satisfaction is obtained.

Some features of this mode of thinking may be seen in the sphere of religious life as well. The formation of a religion, too, seems to be based on the suppression of certain instinctual impulses. These impulses, however, are not, as in the neuroses, excessively strong but rather weak instincts, that are actively suppressed. Nevertheless, even so, they are [illegible] in the person. A sense of guilt following [illegible] and an expectant anxiety in the form of fear of punishment have, as a rule, been formulated as the basis of religion longer than in that of neurosis. Perhaps because of the admixture of sexual components, perhaps because of some general characteristics of the instincts, the suppression proves to be at times inadequate and in certain religious [illegible] are more common among religious people than among neurotics and these give rise to a new form of religious activity, namely acts of penance, which have their counterpart in obsessional neurosis.

We have noted as a curious and derogatory characteristic of obsessional neurosis that its ceremonials are concerned with the small actions of daily life and are expressed in foolish regulations and restrictions in connection with them. We cannot understand this remarkable feature of the clinical

picture until we have realized that the mechanism of psychical *displacement*, which was first discovered by me in the construction of dreams,[1] dominates the mental processes of compulsion neurosis. It is already clear from the two examples of obsessive actions given above that transposition and the displacement are brought about by a displacement from the central, important target to a small one which takes a specially long time to exhaust or to a change from a habitual action to a chain.[2] It is this tendency to displacement which progressively enlarges the compass of the pathological and eventually succeeds in turning what is apparently the most trivial matter into something of the highest importance and urgency. It cannot be denied that in the religious sphere as well there exists a similar tendency to a displacement of psychical values and that in the same direction: so that the petty ceremonials of religious practice gradually become the essential thing and push aside the moral laws. It is thus that religions are subject to reforms which work restoratively upon a re-established original balance of values.

The character of conscientiousness which obsessive actions possess in their contrast with the carelessness of other parts of life corresponds to religious observances. Yet there, too, there is no lack of cases of neurosis which can be traced back to an exaggeration of religious piety, to a hypertrophy of the conscientiousness which is habitually shown in the fulfilment of religious duties. Religion as a

[1] [Part II, Chapter VI, Section B (*Standard Ed.*, 4, 305 ff.).]

[2] [Freud had made this point in a letter to Jung of January 10, 1907. It is also in the metapsychological paper on repression published in 1915.]

universal obsessional neurosis. The most essential similarity would reside in the underlying renunciation of the activation of instincts that are constitutionally present, and the chief difference would be in the nature of those instincts which in the neurosis are exclusively sexual in their origin, while in religion they spring from egoistic sources.

A progressive renunciation of constitutional instincts, whose activation might afford the agent primary pleasure, appears to be one of the foundations of the development of human civilization.[1] Some part of this instinctual repression is effected by asceticism, in that it requires the individual to sacrifice his instinctual pleasure to the Deity. 'Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.' In the development of the ancient religions one seems to discern that many evil things which mankind had renounced as 'iniquities' had been surrendered to the Deity and were still forbidden to man in his nature, so that the handing over to him of bad and socially harmful instincts was the means by which man freed himself from their domination. For this reason, it is sure, no accident that all the attributes of man, along with the misdeeds that followed from them, were also ascribed to the ancient gods. Nor is it to be misunderstood as ridicule of this that nevertheless man was not permitted to justify his own iniquities by appealing to divine example.

VIENNA, *February* 1907

[1] [This idea was expanded by Freud in the paper on sexual ethics written about a year later (*infra*, p. 181 below).]

THE SEXUAL ENLIGHTENMENT OF CHILDREN

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR M FÜRST)

(1907)

ZUR SEXUELLEN AUFKLÄRUNG DER KINDER

(OFFENER BRIEF AN DR. M. FÜRST)

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS

1907 *Soz. Med. Hyg.*, **2** (1) [June], 360–7
1909 *S.K.S.N.*, **2**, 451–8 (1912 2nd ed., 1921, 3rd ed.)
1924 *G.S.*, **5**, 134–42
1931 *Sexualtheorie und Traumlehre*, 7–16
1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 19–27.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The Sexual Enlightenment of Children (An Open Letter to Dr. M. Fürst)

1924 *C.P.*, **2**, 36–44 (Tr. E. B. M. Herford)

The present translation is based on the one published in 1924.

This was written at the request of a Hamburg doctor, Dr. M. Fürst, for publication in a periodical devoted to social medicine and hygiene of which he was the editor. We learn from Ernest Jones (1955, 327–8) that Freud gave a much fuller account of his views on the subject in a discussion at the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society on May 12, 1909. Some thirty years later he returned to the topic of the 'sexual enlightenment' of children in the last paragraph of Section IV of his paper on 'Analysis Terminable and Interminable' (1937*c*). He shows there that the question is a considerably less simple one than appears in the present discussion.

THE SEXUAL ENLIGHTENMENT OF CHILDREN

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR M FÜRST

Dear Dr Fürst,

When you ask me for an expression of opinion on 'the sexual enlightenment of children', I assume that what you want is not a regular, formal treatise on the subject which shall take into account the excessive mass of literature that has grown up around it, but the independent judgement of an individual doctor whose professional activities have often led him to special opportunities for concerning himself with sexual problems. I know that you have been yourself occupied with interest and that, unlike many of our colleagues, you do not dismiss my views without examination because I regard the psychosexual constitution and certain exact sexual facts as the most important causes of the neurotic disturbances that are so common. My *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1905*d*] too, where I have described the ways in which the sexual instinct is composed and the disturbances which may occur in its development into the function of sexuality, have recently had a friendly reception in your journal.

I am expected, therefore, to answer questions on the following points: whether children ought to be given any enlightenment at all about the facts of sexual life, at what age this ought to happen and in what manner it should be carried out. Let me admit to you at once that I find a discussion of the second and third points perfectly reasonable but that to my mind it is quite unnecessary below there could be a difference of opinion on the first point. What can be the purpose of withholding from children—or, let us say, from young people—enlightenment of this kind about the

sexual life of human beings? Is it from a fear of arousing their interest in these matters prematurely before it awakens in them spontaneously? Is it from a hope that such enlightenment of this kind may retard the sexual instinct altogether until such time as it can find its way into the channels chosen to sustain our modern class social order? Is it supposed that children would show no interest or understanding for the facts and relations of sexual life if they were not prompted to do so by outside influences? Is it being thought possible that the knowledge which is withheld from them will not reveal them in other ways? Or is it genuinely and seriously intended that later on they should regard everything to do with sex as something ground in detestable ignorance which their parents and teachers wished to keep them away as long as possible?

I really do not know which of these purposes to look for the motive for the concealment of what is sexual from children that is in fact carried out. I only know that they are all equally absurd and that it is difficult to honour them with a serious refutation. I remember, however, that in the funny letters of that great thinker and enlightener on Multatuli, I once found a few lines which are a more than adequate answer:

"In my mind certain things are in general too much wrapped in a veil. It is right to keep a child's imagination pure but this purity will not be preserved by ignorance. On the contrary I think that concealment is a bad way to set about it. The truth never can ever [illegible] us to query into things which, if they had been told us without any great to do, would have aroused little or no interest in us. If this ignorance could be maintained even I might become reconciled to it but that is impossible. The child comes into contact with other children, books come his way which lead him to reflect, and the mystery-making with which his parents treat what he has nevertheless discovered actually increases his desire to know more. This desire which is only partly satisfied and only in secret, excites his feeling and distresses his imagination, so that he could actually sins where

his parents still believe that he does not know what sin is.[2]

I do not know how the case could be better stated, but perhaps I may add a few words. I would say that the case of the [illegible] parents against sex education is based on [illegible] but possibly a part is also [illegible] guarantee on their part, would we [illegible] a genuine enlightenment. It is [illegible] that the sexual instinct is absent in children [illegible] begins to emerge in them at puberty with [illegible] This is a gross error. [illegible] knowledge and [illegible] observation to [illegible] how it could ever have been made. As a matter of fact the sexual [illegible] with it in the world certain sexual [illegible] which is [illegible] as a shocking and [illegible] and, although very few children [illegible] sexual activities and sensations [illegible] I would like to [illegible] *I have known the fact* [illegible] I have referred above. There [illegible] that the organs of reproduction proper are not the only ones which produce sexual sensations of pleasure, but that [illegible] the genital zone [illegible] [illegible] sexual sensations [illegible] of the skin, erogenic zones [illegible] and as an [illegible] to make all these states [illegible] use a term [illegible] [illegible] parents goes [illegible] the genitals primacy among all the

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

other zones and sources which produce pleasure, and thus to [illegible] in the service of the [illegible] function. This process can naturally [illegible] certain elements, and many people [illegible] pleasure [illegible] Either by the [illegible] or by the [illegible] of the pleasures, [illegible] and [illegible] Although many of these [illegible] sexuality [illegible] that [illegible] power [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] and [illegible] pleasure [illegible]

A [illegible] sexuality [illegible] sexual knowledge [illegible] and [illegible] I [illegible] from [illegible] a [illegible] with [illegible] to [illegible] pleasure [illegible] to [illegible] Hans [illegible] nature of sex [illegible] a nurse, [illegible] fresh [illegible] he [illegible] Where [illegible] asked [illegible] Mummy [illegible] His mother answered 'Of course. What did you think?' He was asked [illegible] question repeatedly. At the same age he was taken to a swan for the first time and saw a swan being milked. 'Look!' he said, in surprise, 'there's milk coming out of its water!' At the age of three and a quarter he was [illegible] making an independent discovery of

correct categories by means of his observations. He saw some water [illegible] an engine and said, 'Oh, look, the engine is making water!' [illegible] later on he was watching [illegible] and remarked, when she grows up she'll [illegible]. I have been told of the same [illegible] by a professional [illegible] father has [illegible] He sometimes [illegible] the gift [illegible] The [illegible] when [illegible] he grasps [illegible] what he thinks.[1]

[illegible] great problem [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] The [illegible] by the [illegible] arrival of a baby brother or sister. It is the last and most [illegible] that confronts immature [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] 10. [illegible] 7, [illegible] the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] paper on this latter topic (1925j).]

child in the nursery damages his genuine instinct of research and as a rule deals the first blow, too, at his confidence in his parents. From that time on he usually begins to mistrust grown-up people, and to keep his most intimate interests secret from them. The following little document shows how tormenting his curiosity can become in older children. It is a letter written by a motherless girl of seven and a half who had been speculating on the problem with her younger sister:

'Dear Aunt Mali,

Will you please be so kind as to tell me how you got Christel and Paul. You must know because you are married. We were arguing about it yesterday evening and we want to know the truth. We have nobody else to ask. When are you coming to Salzburg? You know, Aunt Mali, we simply can't understand how the stork brings babies. Irmtel thought the stork brings them in a shirt. Then we want to know as well if the stork gets them out of the pond and why one never sees babies in ponds. And will you please tell me, too, how one knows beforehand when one is going to have one. Write and tell me everything about it.

With thousands of greetings and kisses from us all,

'Your inquisitive niece,

Lili.'

I do not believe that this touching letter brought the two sisters the enlightenment they wanted. Later on the writer of it fell ill of the neurosis that arises from unanswered unconscious questions—of obsessional brooding.[1]

There does not seem to me to be a single good reason for denying children the enlightenment which their thirst for knowledge demands. To be sure, if it is the purpose of educators to stifle the child's power of independent thought as early as possible, in favour of the 'goodness' which they think so much of, they cannot set about this better than by

[1] [*Footnote added* 1924.] After some years, however, her obsessional brooding gave way to a dementia praecox.—[Freud returns to the subject of unanswered questions on p. 218 f. below.]

[illegible] sexual matters and misinforming him on matters of religion. He struggles with what is true, which [illegible] and becomes rebellious and contrary to the authority of their parents and later struggles against every other authority. If [illegible] gives the explanations for which they turn to their elders they go on to torment themselves with the problem of reconciling the latter's statements with the truth they have guessed by themselves. The most extraordinary and wrong explanations of this whispered mystery are given in answer to children's questions, because of the young enquirer's sense of guilt: everything sexual is stamped as being bad or at any rate suggesting. These utterances about sexual matters would be well worth collecting and examining.[1] From this time on children usually lose the only proper attitude to sexual questions, and many of them never regain it.

It seems that the large majority of authors, both men and women, who have written about the sexual enlightenment of children have expressed an opinion that the circumstances of most of their pupils as to when and how this enlightenment is to take place are such as to think that they have not found it easy to arrive at this conclusion. So far as my knowledge of the literature goes, a single outstanding exception is presented by the charming letter of explanation which a certain Emma Eckstein has written as having been written by her to her son when he was about ten years old.[2] The customary viewpoint which insists on the great importance of sexual knowledge being kept from children as long as possible and which lays the stress on the danger of premature information [illegible] regard as grudging and even so it only half [illegible] and governesses [illegible]. Most of the answers to the question [illegible] make such a miserable impression, on me at least, that I should prefer [illegible] to remark [illegible] enlightenment

[illegible] afterwards. See below [illegible] which much of the present argument is elaborated.]

[2] Emma Eckstein, 1904

at all. What is really important is that children should never get the idea that one wants to make more of a secret of the facts of sexual life than of any other matter which is not very accessible to their understanding, and to ensure this it is necessary that from the very first what has to do with sexuality should be treated like anything else that is worth knowing about. Above all, it is the duty of schools not to evade the mention of sexual matters. The main facts of reproduction and their significance should be included in lessons about the animal kingdom, and at the same time stress should be laid on the fact that man shares every essential in his organization with the higher animals. Then, provided that the child's home environment does not actively interfere, in a nursery will probably happen to them. I heard a boy say to his little sister: "It was an awful long story I brought it to you last week. You know mamma and daddy think storks bring other mammals their babies too."

For child's curiosity will never reach a very high degree of intensity provided it finds a proper answer at each stage. Learning how to think about the specific facts of human sexual life and all that it involves should, therefore, be given to the child at the moment when the question arises. Even when, as he certainly will, he hears about sexual matters from other children before he is seven years old. The period of conversation would be a more suitable time than any other at which to start the child with a knowledge of the facts. In the moral dangers which are attached to these matters, what is not known is far more dangerous than what is known. Misleading stories such as the parent stork separating with a real regret from a child which he would take for ever seems to me to be the only kind which can be accepted. Real love, real tenderness, and the responsibility involved in the dangers now ver[illegible]

I consider it the most significant advance in child education [illegible] the Swedish Government, in place

of the catechism, a primer which gives the child his first instruction in his position as a citizen and in the ethical duties which will later devolve on him. But such elementary instruction is seriously deficient, so long as it does not include the field of sexuality. Here is the gap which educators and reformers should set about filling. In countries which have placed the education of children wholly or in part in the hands of the clergy it will, of course, be impossible to ask for this. A priest will never admit that men and animals have the same nature, since he cannot do without the immortality of the soul, which he requires as the basis for moral precepts. Here, once again, we see the unwisdom of sewing a single silk patch on to a tattered coat—the impossibility of carrying out an isolated reform without altering the foundations of the whole system.[1]

[1] [Freud makes the same point, in connection with marriage, in his paper on 'civilized' sexual morality (1908*d*), p. 196 below.]

CREATIVE WRITERS AND DAY-DREAMING

(1908 [1907])

DER DICHTER UND DAS PHANTASIEREN

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS:

(1907 December 6 Delivered as a lecture
1908 *Neue Revue*, 1 I [March], 716–24
1909 *S K S N*, 2, 197–206 (1912, 2nd ed., 1921, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, 10, 229–239.
1924 *Dichtung und Kunst*, 9–14.
1941 *G W.*, 7, 213–223.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION:

'The Relation of the Poet to Day-Dreaming'
1925 *C P*, 4, 172–183 (Tr. I. F. Grant Duff

The present translation is a modified version, with an altered title, of the one published in 1925.

This was originally delivered as a lecture on December 6, 1907, before an audience of 90 in the rooms of the Viennese publisher and bookseller Hugo Heller, who was himself a member of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. A very accurate summary of the lecture appeared next day in the Viennese daily *Die Zeit*, but Freud's full version was first published early in 1908 in a newly established Berlin literary periodical.

Some of the problems of creative writing had been touched on shortly before in Freud's study on *Gradiva* (e.g. on p. 92 above), and a year or two earlier he had approached the question in an unpublished essay on 'Psychopathic Characters on the Stage' (1942a [1905]). The centre of interest in the present paper, however, as well as in the next one, written at about the same time, lies in its discussion of phantasies.

CREATIVE WRITERS AND DAY-DREAMING

We laymen have always been intensely curious to know, like the Cardinal who put a similar question to Ariosto, from what source is that strange being, the creative writer, draws his material, and how he manages to make such an impression on us with it. His answers to these questions, which perhaps, we had not even consciously formulated, are our highest pleasure, far more than the art that, if we ask him, the writer himself gives us to explain it. Or more than a satisfactory answer, it is not even worked out by our knowledge that notes at the least sign the determinants of his choice of material and even the nature of the art of creating imaginative form will ever help to make creative writers of us.

If we could at least discover in ourselves or in people like ourselves an activity which was the way to creative writing! An examination of this would then give us a hope of obtaining the beginnings of an explanation of the creative work of writers. And, indeed, there is some prospect that this being possible. Actual creative writers themselves, who like to lessen the distance between their kind and the ordinary run of humanity, they, moreover, assure us that every man is a poet at heart and that the last poet will not perish till the last man does.

Should we not look for the first traces of imaginative activity as early as in childhood? The child's best loved and most intense occupation seems to be play or games. Might we not say that every child at play behaves like a creative writer in that he creates a world of his own or rather rearranges

[Cardinal Ippolito d'Este was Ariosto's first patron, to whom he dedicated the *Orlando Furioso*. The poet's only reward was the question: 'Where did you find so many stories, Lodovico?']

the things of his world in a new way which pleases him? It would be wrong to think he does not take that world seriously—on the contrary, he takes his play very seriously and puts enormous amounts of emotion into it. The opposite of play is not what is serious but what is real. In spite of the fact that he fills his world of play with very great emotion, the child distinguishes it quite well from reality and likes to link his imagined objects and situations to the tangible circumstances of the real world. This linking is all that distinguishes the child's play from phantasying.

The creative writer does the same as the child at play. He creates a world of phantasy which he takes very seriously—that is, which he invests with large amounts of emotion—while separating it sharply from reality. Language has preserved this relationship between children's play and poetic creation. In German, the name of 'Spiel' [play] is applied to forms of imaginative writing which require to be performed, to dramatic objects and which are capable of representation. It speaks of a *Lust*- or *Trauerspiel* ['merry' or 'sad play'] [literally 'pleasure play' or 'mourning play'] and of the writer of such a play as a *Spielmann* [literally 'play-man']. The unreality of the writer's imaginative world, however, has very important consequences for the techniques which are open to him. Things would be very much simpler for us if they were real, and give rise to no conflicts. The whole realm of fantasy and literature, which in themselves are actually distressing, would be a source of pleasure for the hearers and spectators as well as for the writer. But a writer's work

is open to another reproach for the sake of which we would like to set aside altogether this contrast between reality and play. When the child has grown up and has ceased to play and whereas he has been labouring for decades to acquire the reality-testing which corresponds to the reality principle, when he has become serious in the way one may call it, he is also driven to a new occupation which once more makes the contrast between play and reality irrelevant. As an adult he can no longer play in the sense of occupying himself with wishful fancies

carried on his games in childhood, and, by equating his ostensibly serious occupations of to-day with his childish games, he can throw off the too heavy burden imposed on him by life and win the high yield of pleasure afforded by *humour*.[1]

As people grow up then they cease to play, and they seem to give up the yield of pleasure which they gained from playing. But whoever understands the human mind knows that hardly anything is harder for a man than to give up a pleasure which he has once experienced. After all we can never give anything up; we only exchange one thing for another. What appears to be a renunciation is really the formation of a substitute or surrogate. In the same way, the growing child, when he stops playing, gives up nothing but the link with real objects, instead of *playing*, he now *phantasies*. He builds castles in the air and creates what are called *day-dreams*. I believe that most people construct phantasies at times in their lives. This is a fact which has long been overlooked and whose importance has therefore not been sufficiently appreciated.

People's phantasies are less easy to observe than the play of children. The child, it is true, plays by himself or forms a closed psychical system with other children for the purposes of a game; but even though he may not play his game in front of the grown-ups, he does not, on the other hand, conceal it from them. The adult, on the contrary, is ashamed of his phantasies and hides them from other people. He cherishes his phantasies as his most intimate possessions, and as a rule he would rather confess his misdeeds than tell anyone his phantasies. It may come about that for that reason he believes he is the only person who invents such phantasies and has no idea that creations of this kind are widespread among other people. This difference in the behaviour of a person who plays and a person who phantasies is accounted for by the motives of these two activities, which are nevertheless adjuncts to each other.

[See Section 7 of Chapter VII of Freud's book on jokes (1905c).]

A child's play is determined by wishes: in point of fact by a single wish: one that helps in his upbringing: the wish to be big and grown up. He is always playing at being 'grown up', and in his games he imitates what he knows about the lives of his elders. He has no reason to conceal this wish. With the adult, the case is different. On the one hand, he knows that he is expected not to go on playing or phantasying any longer, but to act in the real world: on the other hand, some of the wishes which give rise to his phantasies are of a kind which it is essential to conceal. Thus he is ashamed of his phantasies as being childish and as being impermissible.

But, you will ask, if people make such a mystery of their phantasying, how is it that we know such a lot about it? We: there is a class of human beings upon whom, not a god, indeed, but a stern goddess, Necessity, has allotted the task of telling what they suffer and what things give them happiness.[1] These are the victims of nervous illness, who are obliged to tell their phantasies, among other things, to the doctor by whom they expect to be cured by mental treatment. This is our best source of knowledge, and we have since found good reason to suppose that our patients told us nothing that we might not also hear from healthy people.

Let us now make ourselves acquainted with a few of the characteristics of phantasying. We may lay it down that a happy person never phantasies, only an unsatisfied one. The motive forces of phantasies are unsatisfied wishes, and every single phantasy is the fulfilment of a wish, a correction of unsatisfying reality. These motivating wishes vary according to the sex, character and circumstances of the person who is having the phantasy, but they fall naturally into two main

[1] [This is an allusion to some well-known lines spoken by the poet-hero in the final scene of Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*:

'Und wenn der Mensch in seiner Qual verstummt,
Gab mir ein Gott zu sagen wie ich leide.'

'And when mankind is dumb in its torment, a god granted me to tell how I suffer.']

groups. They are either ambitious wishes, which serve to elevate the subject's personality, or they are erotic ones. In young women the erotic wishes predominate almost exclusively, for their ambition is as a rule absorbed by erotic trends. In young men egoistic and ambitious wishes come to the fore clearly enough alongside of erotic ones. But we will not lay stress on the opposition between the two trends; we would rather emphasize the fact that they are often united. Just as, in many altarpieces, the portrait of the donor is to be seen in a corner of the picture sharing in the sanctity of the apparitions, we can discover in some corner or other of the day-fancy which the creative writer performs all his heroic deeds and at whose feet all his triumphs are laid. Here, as we see, there are strong enough motives for concealment. The well-brought-up young woman has only a limited minimum of erotic desire, and the young man has to learn to suppress the excessive egoistic wishes he brings with him from the sphere days of his childhood so that he may find his place in a society which has to take into account individuals making equally strong demands.

We must not suppose that the products of this imaginative activity—the various phantasies, castles in the air and day-dreams—are stereotyped or unalterable. On the contrary, they fit themselves in to the subject's slightest impressions of life, change with every change in his situation, and receive from every fresh active impression a trace that might be termed a date-mark. The relation of a phantasy to time is in general very important. We may say that it hovers, as it were, between three times—the three moments of time which our volition involves. Mental work is linked to some current impression, some provoking occasion in the present which has been able to arouse one of the subject's major wishes. From there it harks back to a memory of an earlier experience (usually an infantile one) in which this wish was fulfilled, and it now creates a situation relating to the future which represents a fulfilment of the wish. What it thus creates is a day dream or phantasy, which carries about traces of its origin from the

occasion which provoked it and from the memory. Thus past, present and future are strung together, as it were, on the thread of the wish that runs through them.

A very ordinary example may serve to make what I have said clear. Let us take the case of a poor orphan youth to whom we have given the address of some employer where he may perhaps find a job. On his way there he may indulge in a day-dream appropriate to the situation from which he arises. The content of his phantasy would perhaps be something like this. He is given a job, finds favour with his new employer, makes himself indispensable in the business, is taken into the employer's family, marries the charming young daughter of the house, and then himself becomes a director of the business, first as his employer's partner and then as his successor. In this phantasy the dreamer has regained what he possessed in his happy childhood—the protecting house, the loving parents and the first objects of his affectionate feelings. You will see from this example the way in which the wish makes use of an occasion in the present to construct, on the pattern of the past, a picture of the future.

There is a great deal more that could be said about phantasies, but I will only allude as briefly as possible to certain points. If phantasies become over-luxuriant and overpowerful the conditions are present for an onset of neurosis or psychosis. Phantasies moreover are the immediate mental precursors of the distressing symptoms complained of by our patients. Here a broad highway leads into pathology.

I cannot pass over the relations of phantasies to dreams. Our dreams at night are nothing else than phantasies like these, as we can now demonstrate from the interpretation of dreams. Language, in its unerring wisdom, long ago decided the question of the essential nature of dreams by giving the name of day-dreams to the only creations of phantasy. If the meaning of our dreams usually remains obscure to us in spite of this pointer, it is because of the circumstance that at night there are a set of wishes of

[1] Cf. Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900.

which we are ashamed, these we must conceal from ourselves, and they have consequently been repressed[1] pushed into the unconscious. Repressed wishes of this sort and their derivatives are only allowed to come to expression in a very distorted form. When scientific work had succeeded in elucidating this factor of *dream-distortion*, it was no longer difficult to recognize that night-dreams are wish-fulfilments in just the same way as day-dreams—the phantasies which we all know so well.

So much for phantasies. And now for the creative writer. May we not attempt to compare the imaginative writer with the 'dreamer in broad daylight' and his creations with day-dreams? Here we must begin by making an initial distinction. We must separate writers who, like the ancient authors of epics and tragedies, take over their material ready-made from writers who seem to create from their own resources. We will keep to the latter kind, and for the purposes of our comparison we will choose not the writers most highly esteemed by the critics, but the less pretentious authors of novels, romances and short stories, who nevertheless have the widest and most eager circle of readers of both sexes. One feature above all calls for our attention. However great the number of these story-writers may be, each of them builds up a world which is the centre of interest for whom the writer invites our sympathy by every possible means, and which seems to place under the protection of a special Providence. If at the end of one chapter we find the hero overwhelmed by misfortune and bleeding from several wounds, we are prepared, at the beginning of the next, to see him carefully nursed and on the way to recovery, and at the first volume closes with the ship in which he is sailing going down in a storm at sea, I am certain at the opening of the second volume, to read of his miraculous rescue—a rescue without which the story could not proceed. The feeling of security with which I follow the hero through perilous adventures is the same as the feeling with which a hero in

[1] [*Der Träumer am hellichten Tag.*]

real life throws himself into the water to save a drowning man or exposes himself to the enemy's fire in order to storm a battery. It is the true hero-feeling which one of our best writers has expressed in an inimitable phrase: 'Nothing can happen to *me*'.[1] It seems to me, however, that through this revealing characteristic of invulnerability we can immediately recognize His Majesty the Ego, the hero alike of every day-dream and of every story.[2]

Other typical features of these egoistic stories point to the same conclusion. The fact that all the women in the novel inevitably fall in love with the hero can hardly be looked on as a portrayal of reality. But it is easily understood as a necessary constituent of a day-dream. The same is true of the fact that the other characters in the story are sharply divided into good and bad in defiance of the variety of human characters that are to be observed in real life. The 'good' ones are the helpers while the bad ones are the enemies and rivals, of the ego which has become the hero of the story.

We are perfectly aware that very many imaginative writings are far removed from the model of the naive day-dream; and yet I cannot suppress the suspicion that even the most extreme deviations from that model could be linked with it through an uninterrupted series of transitional cases. It has struck me that in many of what are known as psychological novels only one person—once again the hero—is described from within. The author sits inside his mind, as it were, and looks at the other characters from outside. The psychological novel in general no doubt owes its special nature to the inclination of the modern writer to split up his ego, by self-observation, into many part-egos, and in consequence, to personify the conflicting currents of his own mental life in several heroes. Certain novels, which

[1] Es kann mir nichts geschehen. This phrase from Anzengruber, the Viennese dramatist, was a favourite one of the Emperor's. [Though not on War and Death (1915*b*), *Standard Ed.* **14**, 278.]

[2] [Cf. On Narcissism (1914*c*), *Standard Ed.* **14**, 91.]

[illegible] be described as 'eccentric' seem to stand in quite spec[illegible] to the type of the day-dream. In fact, the person who [illegible] as the hero only a very small active part, he sees and [illegible] pass before him like a spectator. Most [illegible] works belong to [illegible]. But I must point out that the [illegible] a writer [illegible] with a certain [illegible] which [illegible] us [illegible] when we [illegible] spectator.

[illegible] the writer [illegible] creations, and [illegible] to be [illegible] from [illegible]. [illegible] these authors' works [illegible] the relation between [illegible] and [illegible] which [illegible] of the writer and [illegible]. We [illegible] as a fact, [illegible] from [illegible] plots we [illegible] expect [illegible] A [illegible] writer [illegible] of the [illegible] which [illegible] as well as of the old memory.

[illegible] stories (Freud, 1950a, Letter 92,]

may turn out not unfruitful. You will not forget that the stress it lays on childhood memories in the writer's life is a stress which may perhaps seem puzzling at first. It is directly derived from the assumption that a piece of creative writing is a continuation of, and a substitute for, what was once the play of childhood.

We must now expect the reverse to go back to the kind of imaginative works which we have to recognize, not as original creations, but as the reshaping of ready-made and familiar patterns [p. 144]. Even here the writer keeps a certain amount of independence: we look to him to express the wishful fantasies and to disguise them in such a way that the expression is pleasing. In so far as the material is already at hand, however, it stems from the popular treasure-house of poetry, legends and fairy tales. The study of transformations of this psychological kind is far from being complete, but it is extremely probable that myths for instance are distorted vestiges of the wishful phantasies of whole nations, the *day-dreams* of early humanity.

You will see that, although I have put the creative writer first at the centre of my paper, I have told you far less about him than about phantasies. I am aware of that, and I must try to excuse it by pointing to the present state of our knowledge. And I have been able to add at the most some encouragements and suggestions which, starting from the study of phantasies, lead on to the problem of the writer's choice of his literary material. As for the other problem by what means the creative writer arouses the emotional effects in us that are aroused by his creations—we have as yet not touched on it at all. But I should like at least to point out to you the path that leads from our discussion of phantasies to the problems of poetical effects.

You will remember how I have said [p. 145 f.] that the day-dreamer carefully conceals his phantasies from other people because he feels he has reasons for being ashamed of them. I should now add that even if he were to communicate them

to as he could give us no pleasure by his disclosures. Such phantasies, when we learn them, repel us or at least cause us cold. But when a creative writer presents his plays to us or tells us what we are supposed to take to be his personal day-dreams, we experience a great pleasure and one which probably arises from the confluence of many sources. How the writer accomplishes this is his innermost secret; the essential artifice must be to soften the sharp demarcation between the ego and egoistic dreams by the production of the purely formal, that is aesthetic, yield of pleasure which he offers us when he communicates his imaginative writings. We give the name of an incentive bonus, or a fore-pleasure, to a yield of pleasure such as this, which is offered to us so as to make possible the release of a greater pleasure arising from deeper psychical sources. In my opinion all the aesthetic pleasure which a creative writer affords us has the character of a fore-pleasure of this kind, and our actual enjoyment of an imaginative work proceeds from a liberation of tensions in our minds. It may even be that not a little of the effect is due to the writer's cleverness in veiling his own egoistic day-dreams without losing the sympathy of his readers. He opens up to us the sources of new, interesting and unexpected pleasures, but asks at least for a price in the currency of our discussion.

[1] [illegible] it [illegible] he never [illegible] had been [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible] book [illegible] [illegible] *Loves Labour's Lost*. See [illegible] *Vol.* 7, 208 ff.

HYSTERICAL PHANTASIES AND THEIR RELATION TO BISEXUALITY

(1908)

EDITOR'S NOTE

HYSTERISCHE PHANTASIEN UND IHRE BEZIEHUNG ZUR BISEXUALITÄT

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS.

1908 *Z. Sexualwiss.*, 1 (1) [January] 27–34.
1909 *S.K.S.N.* 2, 138–145. 1912, 2nd ed. 1922, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, 5, 246–254.
1941 *G.W.*, 7, 191–199.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS:

'Hysterical Fancies and their Relation to Bisexuality'
1909 *S.P.H.*, 194–200. (Tr. A. A. Brill. 1912, 2nd ed., 1920, 3rd ed.)

'Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality'
1924 *C.P.*, 2, 51–58. (Tr. D. Bryan.)

The present translation is a revision of the one published in 1924.

This paper was originally intended for Hirschfeld's *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*, but was transferred to a new periodical just started by the same editor. The importance of phantasies as the basis of hysterical symptoms had been first recognized by Freud at about the year 1895, in connection with his self-analysis. But though he communicated his findings privately to Fliess, for instance in letters of July 7 and September 21, 1897 (Freud, 1950*a*, Letters 69 and 69), he had only published them rarely a couple of years before the present paper was written. See Freud, 1906*a* *Standard Ed.*, 7, 274–5. The main part of this paper is a further discussion of the relation between phantasies and symptoms, and, in spite of its title, the subject of bisexuality

emerges almost as an afterthought. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the subject of phantasies seems to have been very much in Freud's mind at about the date of this paper. They are further discussed in the papers on 'The Sexual Theories of Children' (p. 209), on 'Family Romances' (p. 237), on 'Creative Writers and Day-Dreaming' (p. 143), and on 'Hysterical Attacks' (p. 229), as well as at many points in the study of *Gradiva* (e.g. pp. 49–52). Much of the material of the present paper had, of course, been anticipated. See, for instance, the 'Dora' analysis (1905*e* [1901]), *Standard Ed.*, 7, 47–52, and the *Three Essays* (1905*d*), ibid., 165–6.

HYSTERICAL PHANTASIES AND THEIR RELATION TO BISEXUALITY

We are all familiar with the dissociation of the personality which is concerned with the gratification and the sufferings of its own [illegible] and with [illegible] that are quite [illegible] most monotonous. We have also become acquainted, through numerous accounts with the strange performances which women hysterics produce on the stage of their sexual [illegible], whether in dreams or reality. Nevertheless it may be new to some readers to hear that quite analogous psychical structures are regularly present in all the psychoneuroses, particularly in hysteria, and that these latter—which are known as hysterical phantasies—can be seen to have important connexions with the causation of the most diverse symptoms.

A convenient source and normal prototype of all these creations of phantasy is to be found in what are called the day-dreams of women. These have already received some, though as yet insufficient, notice in the literature of the subject. I have met with persons of equal frequency in both sexes who [illegible] seems that while they stand well they are unobservant, [illegible] nature in which they may be rather rich and [illegible]. Nevertheless the importance [illegible] factor in motivation, should not be given a secondary rating. A closer investigation of human day-dreams generally shows that all the [illegible] are carried out and all successes achieved only in order to please a woman and to be preferred by her to other men.[1] These phantasies are satisfactions of wishes proceeding from deprivation and longing. They are justly called 'day-dreams', for they give us the key

[illegible] Freud and [illegible] Pierre Janet [illegible] Havelock Ellis [illegible] Psychopathia Sexualis.

[1] Havelock Ellis (1899, 3rd edn., p. 185) [illegible] is of the same opinion.

to an understanding of night-dreams—in which the nucleus of the dream-formation [illegible] phantasies of this kind that have been distorted and are [illegible] by the conscious psychical agency.[1]

[illegible] day-dreams are cathected with a large amount of interest; they are [illegible] by the subject and [illegible] with a great deal of sensitiveness, as though they were among the most intimate possessions of his personality. It is easy to recognize a person who is absorbed in [illegible] in the street, however, by his sudden, as it were [illegible] or by the [illegible] which marks the [illegible] [illegible] have been [illegible] present his [illegible] to be an [illegible] [illegible] that such [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] express [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] drawn the attention of one of my patients to her phantasies, she told me that on one occasion she had suddenly found herself in tears in the street and that, rapidly considering what it was she was actually crying about, she had got hold of a phantasy to the following effect. In her imagination she had formed a tender attachment to a pianist who was well known in the town (though she was not personally acquainted with him); she had had a child by him (she was in fact childless), and he had then deserted her and her child and left them in poverty. It was at this point in her romance that she had burst into tears.

[1] [illegible] dreaming' [illegible] p. 491 above.

[illegible] phantasies have either been unconscious all along and have been formed in the unconscious or, as is more often the case, they were once conscious phantasies (day-dreams) and have since been purposely forgotten and have become unconscious through repression. Their content may afterwards either have remained the same or have undergone alterations, so that the present unconscious phantasies are derivatives of the once conscious ones. Now an unconscious phantasy has a very important connection with the symptoms, for it is usually the phantasy which has served to give them sexual satisfaction during a period of their existence. At that time the masturbation in the widest sense of the term[1] was composed of two parts. One was the evocation of a phantasy and the other some activity which was directly designed to obtain the highest possible pleasure from the genital zone. As we know, this zone is very rarely suited to be the sole object of the sexual activity. Usually the activity is a partial one, directed to the purpose of obtaining pleasure from some part or other part of the body which may be described as erotogenic. Later this activity may be carried out with the help of objects which have at first served as a part of the phantasy. When subsequently the symptoms arise they are of a most remarkable nature, composed of material from the phantasy and the activity, in which the phantasy or the activity or both have become unrecognizable through distortion, displacement and elaboration. The symptoms are now the sole representatives of the whole complex of phantasy and activity, which has sunk into unconsciousness, and they may force their way into consciousness like any other idea that is unconscious. Their relation to the phantasy is often very hard to recognize, and the connection is often further complicated by the fact that the phantasy, which was originally pleasurable, has become painful, and is now for the most part unconscious. Only the symptom, which has arisen out of it, is pleasurable for the patient.

In this way, unconscious phantasies are the immediate psychical precursors of a whole number of psychical

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] 74

symptoms. Hysterical symptoms are to be regarded as the conscious phantasies brought into view through 'conversion', and in so far as the symptoms are somatic ones, they are often enough taken from the circle of the same sexual sensations and motor innervations as those which originally accompanied the phantasy when it was still conscious. In this way the giving up of the locality of masturbation is in fact undone, and the purpose of the whole psychological process, which is a restoration of the original primary sexual satisfaction, is achieved through however considerable a distortion but always in a sort of approximation.

As one works at hysterical therapy, soon one's whole interest is turned away from the symptoms to the phantasies from which they proceed. The technique of psychoanalysis enables us in the first place to enter from the symptoms with these unconscious phantasies and to make them conscious to the patient. By this means it has been found that the content of the hysterical symptom phantasies corresponds completely to the situations in which sexual excesses are practised by perverts and I am prepared at any time for examples of such symptoms to be traced back to the well-known pantomimes of the Roman Empire, the wild excesses of which were, of course, determined only by the enormous unrestrained power possessed by the originators of the phantasies. The hysterical paranoias are phantasies of the same nature, though they are phantasies which have become consciously. They restore the sadistic-anal components of the sexual instinct, and they too may find their way, by means of inversion, into symptoms of hysterical subjects. We also know diseases which have their practical importance as well in which hysterics do not give expression to their phantasies in the form of symptoms but as conscious realizations and in that way devise and stage assaults, attacks or acts of sexual aggression.

It is the task of psychoanalytic investigation, which leads from the conscious symptoms to the hidden unconscious phantasies, to do away with anything that can be known about the

sexual[illegible] of psychoneurotics including the fact which is to be the main subject-matter of this short preliminary publication.

Owing, probably, to the difficulties which the unconscious phantasies themselves put in the way of their endeavour to find expression, the relationship of the phantasies to the symptoms is not such a simple one as the contrary complicated term would suggest. As a rule, when a hysterical phantasy is fully developed and has persisted for some time, a particular symptom corresponds, not to a single phantasy, but to several such phantasies, and does so not at a uniform moment but in accordance with a regular pattern. At the beginning, at the latest, these complications are, no doubt, not at all developed.

For the sake of general interest I will at this point give a rough outside the framework of this paper and interpolate a series of formulae which attempt to give a progressively fuller description of the meaning of hysterical symptoms.[1] These formulae do not contradict one another, but some represent an increasingly complete analysis of the facts, while others represent the application of different points of view.

1. Hysterical symptoms are memory-symbols of certain specially important impressions and experiences.

2. Hysterical symptoms are sometimes produced by 'conversion', but are associated in the form of these traumatic experiences.

3. Hysterical symptoms are, like other psychical structures, an expression of the fulfilment of a wish.

4. Hysterical symptoms are the realization of unconscious phantasies which serve the fulfilment of a wish.

5. Hysterical symptoms serve the purpose of sexual

[1] The [illegible] deals with the 'dream-work'

[illegible] (1910a), *Standard Ed.*, 11, 16-17.]

satisfaction and I represent a portion of the subject's sexual life a portion which corresponds to one of the constituents of his sexual instinct).

6 Hysterical symptoms correspond to a return of a mode of sexual satisfaction which was a real one in infancy life and has since been repressed.

7 Hysterical symptoms arise as a compromise between two opposite affective and instinctual impulses of which one is attempting to bring to expression a component instinct or a constituent of the sexual constitution and the other is attempting to suppress it.[1]

8 Hysterical symptoms may take over the representation of even normal sexual impulses which are not sexual, but they can never be without a sexual significance.

While these views of Freud's as the sexual origin of the nature of hysterical symptoms most completely as the realization of unconscious phantasy, and the emphasis on the importance of the sexual factor. Some of the preceding formulas read up to these two and I are concerned in them.

I have since then between symptoms and phantasies makes it easy to arrive from a psychoanalysis of the former at a knowledge of the components of the sexual instinct which dominate the individual as I have demonstrated in my *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1905]. In some cases, however, a great number of symptoms and sexual results. It shows that there are many symptoms where the underlying sexual phantasy or phantasies, one of a number of phantasies, one of which, the most significant and the earliest is of a sexual nature is not enough to bring about a resolution of the symptoms. I have found that we have two sexual phantasies, of which one has a masculine and the other a feminine character. I have one of these phantasies, perhaps from a sexual impulse. This new finding does not alter our sexual

[1] This had already been expressed by Freud in the first edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* [1900]. Standard Ed. 5, 610 and earlier still in a letter to Fliess of May 31, 1898 [Letter 46

form.[1] It remains true that a hysterical symptom must necessarily represent a compromise between a sexual and a repressing impulse; but it may also represent a union of two sexual phantasies of an opposite sexual character.

I should now bring forward examples in support of this thesis. I have found from experience that short analyses, confined to one symptom, can never give the convincing clue which they are designed to produce. Analyses on the other hand, which are carried out at length, are unsuitable for another occasion.

I will therefore content myself with giving the following fragmentary analysis of a single case.

"He deserted me because the expression on the one hand of a masculine unconscious sexual phantasy and on the other hand of a feminine one.

I must expressly state that I am not here speaking of general sexual characteristics. I have in other connexions (as far as I can see at present, decisively) laid stress upon the fact that in given cases of neurosis (or of single neurotic symptoms) we have to do with the manifestations belonging to the opposite sex. I have found, for example, that a hysterical symptom may be the expression of the sexuality of the opposite sex, and that the sexuality can be traced back, in a given case, to certain phantasies concerned with that sex. Nevertheless the condition of things stands on the whole as I have described it. When it occurs to me that I ought to discuss a specific emphasis, it seems to me to mark the highest degree of complexity to which the construction of a neurosis can attain, and one may therefore only expect to find such in a neurosis which has persisted for a long time and with a great deal of energy at its disposal.

The basis of the hysterical symptoms, which can in any event be demonstrated in numerous cases, is a convincing confirmation of my view that the postulated existence of

[1] Subsequent research has revealed that this formula is unsatisfactory in many psychoneuroses. How far it may still be of general validity.

an innate bisexual disposition in man is especially clearly visible in the analysis of psychoneurotics.[1] An exactly analogous state of affairs occurs in the same field when a person who is masturbating tries in his conscious phantasies to have the feelings both of the man and of the woman in the situation which he is picturing. Further counterparts are to be found in certain hysterical attacks in which the patient sometimes plays both parts in the underlying sexual phantasy. In one case which I observed, for instance, the patient pressed her dress up against her body with one hand as the woman, while she tried to tear it off with the other as the man.[1] This simultaneity of contradictory actions serves to a large extent to obscure the situation which is otherwise so pictorially portrayed in the attack, and it is thus well suited to conceal the unconscious phantasy that is at work.

In psychoanalytic treatment it is very important to be prepared for a symptom's having a bisexual meaning. We need not then be surprised or mistrustful if a symptom seems to persist in spite of its having already resolved one of its sexual meanings, for it is sometimes maintained by the perhaps unsuspected one belonging to the opposite sex. In the treatment of such cases, moreover, one may observe how the patient avails himself during the analysis of the one sexual meaning, of the convenient possibility of constantly switching his associations, as though on to an adjoining track, into the field of the contrary meaning.

[1] *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, p. 7, *et seq.*

[1] I have described a more complicated case of this kind later in this paper (p. 181 below).

CHARACTER AND ANAL EROTISM
(1908)

CHARAKTER UND ANALEROTIK

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS.

1908 *Psychiat.-neurol. Wschr.*, **9** (52 [March]), 465–7.
1909 *S. kl. Sch. N.*, **2**, 132–137 (1912, 2nd ed. 1921, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, **5**, 261–7
1931 *Sexualtheorie und Traumlehre*, 62–8.
1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 203–9.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

'Character and Anal Erotism'

1924 *C.P.*, **2**, 45–50. (Tr. R. C. McWatters.

The present translation is a modified version of the one published in 1924.

The theme of this paper has now become so familiar that it is difficult to realize the astonishment and indignation which it aroused on its first publication. The three character-traits which are here associated with anal erotism, had, as we learn from Ernest Jones (1955, 331–2), already been mentioned by Freud in a letter to Jung of October 27, 1906. He had associated money and miserliness with faeces in a letter to Fliess of December 22, 1897, Freud, 1950*a*, Letter 79. The paper was no doubt partly stimulated by the analysis of the 'Rat Man' (1909*d*), which had been concluded shortly before, though the special connection between anal erotism and obsessional neurosis was only brought out some years later, in 'The Disposition to Obsessional Neurosis' (1913*i*). Another case history, that of the 'Wolf Man' (1918*b* [1914]) led to a further expansion of the topic which is dealt with here—the paper 'On Transformations of Instinct' (1917*c*).

CHARACTER AND ANAL EROTISM

Among those whom we try to help by our psycho-analytic efforts we often come across a type of person who is marked by the possession of a certain set of character-traits, while at the same time our attention is drawn to the behaviour in his childhood of one of his bodily functions and the organ concerned in it. I cannot say at this date what particular occasions began to give me an impression that there was some organic connection between this type of character and this behaviour of an organ, but I can assure the reader that no theoretical expectation played any part in that impression.

Accumulated experience has so much strengthened my belief in the existence of such a connection that I am venturing to make it the subject of a communication.

The people I am about to describe are noteworthy for a regular combination of the three following characteristics. They are especially orderly, parsimonious and obstinate. Each of these words actually covers a small group or series of interrelated character-traits. 'Orderly'[1] covers the notion of bodily cleanliness, as well as of conscientiousness in carrying out small duties and trustworthiness. Its opposite would be 'untidy' and 'neglectful'. Parsimony may appear in the exaggerated form of avarice; and obstinacy can go over into defiance, to which rage and revengefulness are easily joined. The two latter qualities—parsimony and obstinacy—are linked with each other more closely than they are with the first—with orderliness. They are, also, the more constant element of the whole complex. Yet it seems to me incontestable that all three in some way belong together.

[1] [illegible] colloquial senses of those words.]

It is easy to gather from these people's early childhood history that they lack a comparatively large measure of the [aerial] constituent [of sexuality] and that even in later childhood they show a relatively attenuated share in social interests. Such interests seem to have belonged to the less valued sphere of their activities which they are put on the spot because they derive a subsidiary pleasure from devastating it; for they tell us that even in somewhat later years they enjoyed playing back their stool and they remember thoroughly more readily about their brothers and sisters than about the less exciting parts of their environment. Things with the taboo that had been passed from their nurses we infer that such people are born with a sexual constitution in which the erotogenic activity of the anal zone is exceptionally strong. But since in most of these weaknesses and disinheritances are to be found in the earliest years of childhood, which has been passed, we must conclude that the anal zone is almost forfeiting its significance in the course of development; and it is to be suspected that the regulations with which the trio of properties is present in their character may be brought into relation with the disappearance of their anal eroticism.

I know that no one is prepared to be given a state of things such as at present appears to be unintelligible and to offer no angle from which an explanation can be attempted. But we can at least name the underlying factors nearest to our understanding by the help of the postulates I laid down in my *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* in 1905.[1] There I attempted to show that the sexual instinct of man is highly complex and is put together from contributions made by numerous constituents and component instincts. [Important contributions to 'sexual excitation' are furnished] by the peripheral excitations of certain specially designated parts of the body

[1] Cf. Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905), *Standard Ed.*, 7, 186.

[1] [The material in the present paragraph is derived mainly from Section II of the first essay and Section I of the second. *Standard Ed.*, 7, 167 ff. and 176 ff.).]

[illegible] genitals [illegible] us, and [illegible] was [illegible] served [illegible] be described as [illegible] organs. But the [illegible] of excitation [illegible] during [illegible] these parts [illegible] body [illegible] [illegible] together [illegible] sexual [illegible] [illegible] the latter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

matter in the wrong place. [illegible]

[illegible]

are toned down.

[illegible] *Standard Ed.*, 4, 200.]

this explanation would be far too superficial. In reality we never arrive at traces of thought that predate and underlie the ancient civilizations known to us by literature and by surviving customs and superstitions in use among the people, and in the dreams and neuroses of individuals of the present day. We know what to begin with about the origin of gold which connects it with excrement. We also know about the superstition which connects it with the devil. We are reminded of the story told by Ammianus Marcellinus[1] of the treasure-seeking Mesopotamians who, when digging for gold, found instead a black idol, which they worshipped as a demon and whose appearance they took to be a warning against further digging.[2]

It is possible that the contrast between gold and excrement is also known to the most ancient layers of the mind, but the "waste matter" theme[3] has left its specific mark on the dreaming of gold with fewer traces.

Yet another circumstance favourable to the repression

[1] [Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–395), Roman historian. His work, written in Latin, was a history of the Roman Empire from the reign of Nerva to the battle of Adrianople.]

[2] [Freud discussed this story in an essay on Leonardo da Vinci (1910), *Standard Ed.*, **11**, 107 ff.]

[3] [Freud's own translation of this term, which appears in an English version of his Clark University lectures (1909), *Standard Ed.*, **11**, 28, is "refuse and waste matter". Later (1911), *Standard Ed.*, **12**, 187 ff.]

[4] A term vulgarly used for a wealthy spendthrift.

[5] [In German *Mist* and *Mistgabel* mean "manure" and "manure fork" respectively. Mist is also an alternative name for Nereus, the God of the Sea in Greek mythology. Ancient Oriental traditions, which has passed over into popular legends and fairy tales, gold is the excrement of the]

[6] For the connexion of this idea with dreams see a passage above, p. 166, and *The Interpretation of Dreams*, *Standard Ed.*, 5, 4[illegible]

[7] [In English in the original.]

'CIVILIZED' SEXUAL MORALITY AND MODERN NERVOUS ILLNESS

(1908)

EDITOR'S NOTE

DIE 'KULTURELLE' SEXUALMORAL UND DIE MODERNE NERVOSITÄT

(*a*) German Editions

1908 *Sexual-Probleme*, 4 [March] 207–29
1909 *SAS N* 2, 175–96. [? 2nd ed., 1912, 3rd ed.
1924 *GS*, 5, 143–167
1931 *Sexualtheorie und Traumlehre*, 37–42
1941 *GW*, 7, 143–167.

(*b*) English Translations

'Modern Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness'
1915 *Amer. J. Urol.*, 11, 385–405. Incomplete.

'"Civilized" Sexual Morality and Modern Nervousness'
1924 *CP* 2, 76–99 (Tr. E. B. Herford and E. C. Mayne).

A reprint of the 1915 translation appeared as a pamphlet (edited by W. J. Robinson, published by Eugenics Publications, New York, 1931). Bonin. The first ten paragraphs. The present translation, with a modified title, is based on the one published in 1924.

Sexual-Probleme, the periodical in which this and the following paper (p. 207) appeared, was a continuation of the journal *Mutterschutz*, under which title it is sometimes catalogued. The numbering of the volumes continued unbroken in spite of the change of title.

Though this was the earliest of Freud's full-length discussions of the antagonism between civilization and sexual life, his observations on these topics went back much

further. For instance, in a memorandum sent to Fliess on May 31, 1897, he wrote that 'incest is anti-social and civilization consists in a progressive renunciation of it.' (Freud, 1950*a*, Draft N.) But indeed this antagonism was implicit in his whole theory of the impact of the latency period on the development of human sexuality, and in the last pages of his *Three Essays* (1905*d*) he spoke of the inverse relationship holding between civilization and the free development of sexuality (*Standard Ed.*, 7, 242). Much of the present paper, it may be remarked, summarizes the findings of this last-mentioned work, which had first appeared only three years previously.

The sociological aspects of that antagonism form the main subject of the present paper, and Freud often returned to it in the course of his later writings. Thus, leaving out of account the many passing allusions to it, we may mention the last two sections of the second of his papers on the psychology of love (1912*d*) (*Standard Ed.*, 11, 184 ff.), the opening pages of *The Future of an Illusion* (1927*c*), and the closing paragraphs of the open letter to Einstein 'Why War?' (1933*b*). But his largest and most elaborate discussion of the subject was, of course, in *Civilization and its Discontents* (1930*a*).

The ancient problem of whether the German word '*Kultur*' is to be translated 'culture' or 'civilization' has been solved here by the choice sometimes of the one and sometimes of the other. The translators have, indeed, been given a free hand by a remark of Freud's in the third paragraph of *The Future of an Illusion*: 'I seem to distinguish between culture and civilization.'

'CIVILIZED' SEXUAL MORALITY AND MODERN NERVOUS ILLNESS

In his recently published book, *Sexual Ethics*, Von Ehrenfels¹ (1907) dwells on the difference between 'natural' and 'civilized' sexual morality. By natural sexual morality we are to understand, according to him, a sexual morality under whose dominance a human stock is able to remain in lasting possession of health and efficiency, while civilized sexual morality is a sexual morality obedience to which, on the other hand, spurs men on to intensive and productive cultural activity. This contrast, he thinks, is best illustrated by comparing the innate character of a people with their cultural attainments. I may refer the reader to Von Ehrenfels's own work for a more extensive consideration of this significant line of thought, and I shall extract from it here only as much as I need as a starting-point for my own contribution to the subject.

It is not difficult to suppose that under the domination of a civilized sexual morality the health and efficiency of single individuals may be liable to impairment and that ultimately this injury to them, caused by the sacrifices imposed on them, may reach such a pitch that, by this indirect path, the cultural aim in view will be endangered as well. And Von Ehrenfels does actually attribute a number of ill-effects to the sexual morality which dominates our Western society to-day, ill-effects for which he is obliged to make that morality responsible; and, although he fully acknowledges its high aptitude for the furtherance of civilization, he is led to condemn it as standing in need of reform. In his view, what is characteristic of the civilized sexual morality that dominates us is that the demands made on women are carried over to the sexual life of men and that all sexual intercourse is prohibited except in monogamous marriage. Nevertheless,

¹ [See footnote, p. 204 below.]

consideration of the natural difference between the sexes makes it necessary to visit men's lapses with less severity and thus to afford them a *double* amnesty for them. But a society which on such double grounds cannot carry the level of truth [illegible] and humanity' (Von Ehrenfels, about 32 f.) between a definite and narrow circle of persons [illegible] to its members concealment of the truth, false appearance, self-deception and deception of others. And civilized sexual morality [illegible] worse results by [illegible] monogamy, it imposes the [illegible] *selection by severity*, the factor whose influence alone can bring about an improvement of the race. [illegible] *selection by vitality* has been reduced to a minimum by humanity and hygiene (ibid., 35).

Among the [illegible] which are here laid at the door of civilized sexual morality the [illegible] will miss a part [illegible] whose significance we [illegible] discuss in detail in the present paper. I refer to the increase [illegible] of modern nervousness, or illness of the nerves as illness, that is, which is rapidly spreading in our present-day society. Occasionally a nervous patient will [illegible] draw the doctor's attention to the part played in the [illegible] of his complaint by the oppression between his instinctual life and the demands of civilization and will say: 'In earlier times we should become neurotic because we were forced to be something better than what we [illegible] are capable of being.' Or else, the physician himself, [illegible] in observing that those who succumb to nervous illness are precisely the [illegible] of others who have not been burdened by [illegible] obstacles, [illegible] by [illegible] successfully established themselves in the new [illegible] and in a short space of time had brought their cultural [illegible] to a high level of [illegible]. But, above all, nervous sufferers themselves have [illegible] proclaimed the connection between increasing nervous illness and modern civilized life. The grounds to which they attribute this connection will be shown by a few extracts from statements that have been made by [illegible] observers.

W. Erb (1893): 'The essential question, then, is whether the causes of nervousness that have been put before you are present in modern life to such a heightened degree as to account for a marked increase in that form of illness. The question can be answered without hesitation in the affirmative, as a cursory glance at our present existence and its features will show.

'This is already clearly demonstrated by a number of general facts. The extraordinary achievements of modern times, the discoveries and inventions in every sphere, the maintenance of progress in the face of increasing competition—these things have only been gained, and can only be held, by great mental effort. The demands made on the efficiency of the individual in the struggle for existence have greatly increased and it is only by putting forth all his mental powers that he can meet them. At the same time the individual's needs and his demands for the enjoyments of life have increased in all classes; unprecedented luxury has spread to strata of the population who were formerly quite untouched by it; irreligion, discontent and covetousness have grown up in wide social spheres. The immense extension of communications which has been brought about by the network of telegraphs and telephones that encircle the world has completely altered the conditions of trade and commerce. All is hurry and agitation: night is used for travel, day for business, even "holiday trips" have become a strain on the nervous system. Important political, industrial and financial crises carry excitement into far wider circles of people than they used to do; political life is engaged in quite generally; political, religious and social struggles, party politics, electioneering, and the immense spread of trade-unionism inflame tempers and place an ever greater strain on the mind, and encroach upon the hours for recreation, sleep and rest. Life in large cities is constantly becoming more sophisticated and more restless. The exhausted nerves seek recuperation in increased stimulation and in highly-spiced pleasures, only to become more exhausted than before. Modern literature is

concerned with the most questionable problems which stir up all the passions, and which encourage sensuality and a craving for pleasure and contempt for every fundamental moral principle and every moral. It brings before the reader's mind psychological figures and problems concerned with psychopathic sexuality, and revels in sodomy and other subjects. Our days are excited and overstimulated by hypocrisies of many and insistent music. The theatres captivate all our senses with their exciting performances. The plastic arts, too, turn by preference to what is repugnant, ugly and suggestive, and do not hesitate to set before our eyes with revolting fidelity the most horrible sights that reality has to offer.

This general description is already enough to indicate a number of dangers presented by the evolution of our modern civilization. Let me now fill in the picture with a few details.[1]

Binswanger (1896). Nearly all of us in particular has been described as an essentially modern disorder, and Beard, to whom we are indebted for a first comprehensive account of it, believed that he had discovered a new nervous disease which could well be termed by an American soul. This supposition was of course a mistake. Nevertheless, the fact that it was an *American* physician who was first able to grasp and describe the peculiar features of this illness as the fruit of a wide experience indicates no doubt the close connexions which exist between it and modern life, with its unbridled pursuit of money and possessions, and its immense advances in the field of technology which have conquered nearly every obstacle, whether temporal or spatial, to our means of intercommunication.[2]

Von Krafft-Ebing (1886). The mode of life of our more civilized people exposes nervous an abundance of anti-hygienic factors which make it easy to [illegible]. The lateral

[1] Cf. Beard [illegible] and [illegible] (by M. Beard [illegible]) was an American neurologist. Freud mentioned him in some of his earliest discussions of neurasthenia: Freud, 1893*b* and 1894*a*, and in a letter to Fliess of November 5, 1897: Freud, 1950*a*, Letter 74.]

increase of nervous illness [or those] noxious factors take effect first and foremost on the brain. In the course of the last decades changes have taken place in the political and social arrangements under which we live, and a progressive diminution of existing evils has been brought about by great changes in people's attitudes. Social institutions are powerful, and they all protect the nervous system which has reached its present stage of development and demands as great an expenditure of energy as possible for its activities and enjoyments.[1]

The kinds of illness with which we are dealing in these lectures would be inconsiderable in number if it were not that they are known not only to be unusually resistant to every kind of therapeutic influence but also to have a tendency to spread. Even in the case of those patients who are not directly affected by the sexual factors at work, the most striking feature of the whole clinical picture is the extraordinary importance which is attached to sexual matters. If we disregard the vague use of the word 'nervous' and consider only those forms of nervous illness, which are known as 'neuroses', we shall find that the symptoms in which the neurosis expresses itself are invariably the patient's sexual activity (normal or perverse), his sexual excitations and the 'abnormal' constitution of his sexual life. Even in the case of those neuroses which, on account of their severity, have been described as 'psychoses', the same rule holds good. I am in the habit of saying that the neuroses are the pathology of the sexual function, just as I have described in a number of my papers. I cannot refrain from adding that I was never quite able to understand why the sexual factor should be so much neglected in the investigation of the neuroses.

Careful observation also shows us that in every single case of neurosis there are present the *neurotic* symptoms and the *psychosexual* ones. In the former the disturbances, the symptoms, whether they be somatic or psychical, are the only ones of which the patient complains, appear to be of a foreign nature. They behave exactly like foreign bodies and are the aggravating cause of the patient's illness. Those persons who are commonly grouped together as neurasthenics can be divided into two classes according to their symptoms: the one class suffers from the neurasthenia proper, the other from anxiety neurosis.[2]

[1] See my essay on 'Sexuality in the Aetiology of the Neuroses' (1906) [*Standard Ed.*, 7].

taken by the illness corresponds to the nature of these noxae, [illegible] sexual [illegible] may be deduced from the clinical picture. There is a regular [illegible] and anxiety neurosis and [illegible] which are [illegible] aetiology. We may therefore regard the sexual factor as the essential one in the causation of the actual neuroses proper.

With the psychoneuroses the hereditary influence is more marked and the causation less transparent. A peculiar method of investigation known as psychoanalysis has, however, enabled us to recognize that the symptoms of these disorders (hysteria, obsessional neurosis, etc.) are psychogenic, and depend upon the operation of unconscious (repressed) ideational complexes. This same method has taught us what these unconscious complexes are and has shown us that, quite generally speaking, they have a sexual content; they spring from the sexual needs of unsatisfied people and represent for them a kind of substitute-satisfaction. We must, therefore, view all factors which impair sexual life, suppress its activity or distort its aims as being pathogenic factors in the psychoneuroses as well.

The value of the theoretical distinction between toxic and psychogenic neuroses is, of course, not diminished by the fact that, in most people suffering from nervous illness, disturbances arising from both sources are to be observed.

The reader who is prepared to agree with me in looking for the aetiology of nervousness pre-eminently in influences which damage sexual life will be ready to follow the further discussion, which is intended to set the theme of increasing nervous illness in a wider context.

Generally speaking, our civilization is built up on the suppression of instincts. Each individual has surrendered some part of his possessions, some part of the sense of omnipotence, of the aggressive or vindictive inclinations in his personality. From these contributions has grown civilization's common possession of material and ideal property.

It seems to us that it is the innate constitution of each individual which decides in the first instance how large a part of his sexual instinct it will be possible to sublimate and how much use it is able to make of it after it has undergone the effects of experience and the influences upon it operated by its environment. A certain amount of direct sexual satisfaction seems to be indispensable for most organizations, and a definite[1] amount, which varies from individual to individual, is withheld by those impulses which, on account of their attitudes[2] to the functioning and to the subject's personality, must be regarded as unanalysable.

Further views are opened up when we take into consideration the fact that in man the sexual instinct does not originally serve the purposes of reproduction at all but has as its aim the gaining of particular kinds of pleasure.[3] It is true that in this way it remains the same throughout life; but it is subject to a highly significant change from the fact that it has to exert its pressure from the erogenous zones and from other parts of the body, the erogenous zones and other organs having been assigned by their constitutions to the service of sexuality. We shall designate the stage of *auto-erotism* and the process of sublimation which, in our view, the task of restraining sexuality must undergo, as the stage which will make the sexual instinct serviceable later on. The development of the sexual instinct then proceeds from auto-erotism to object-love, from the activity of the erogenous zones to the final organization under the primacy of the genital zones which are put at the service of reproduction. During this

[1] [Footnote illegible]

[2] [Footnote illegible] See the [illegible] Note to the present volume, p. 42, n.

[3] Cf. my *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905) *d* [*Standard Ed.*, 7, 197].

development a part of the sexual excitation which is provided by the subject's own body is prohibited as being unserviceable for the reproductive function and as favourable to excesses. The interests that can be employed for cultural purposes are to a great extent obtained through the suppression of what are known as the *perverse* elements of sexual excitation.

In this evolution of the sexual instinct in human beings three stages can be distinguished. In the first stage the sexual instinct may be freely exercised without regard to its reproductive purpose, as a means, in which pleasure-gain of the sexual instinct is experienced except what serves the purpose of reproduction, and as a third in which only reproduction is allowed as a sexual aim. This third stage is reflected in our present-day civilized sexual morality.

If we take the second of these stages as an average we must point out that a number of people are on account of their organization not equal to meeting its demands. In whole classes of individuals the development of the sexual instinct as we have described it above has been arrested at various points, and in order to find some outlet for their libido the gratification has been attached to infantile sexual aims. As a result of these disturbances of development two kinds of human beings emerge who may be described as sexually weak: those in whom sexual function in general, and the relation between the two sexes in particular, have not developed beyond infantile stages, and those in whom the sexual function has become specially liable to disturbance. There are the different varieties of *perverts* in whom a favourable disposition to an excessively sexual aim has prevented the primacy of the reproductive function from being established, and the *homosexuals or inverts*, in whom, in a manner that is not yet quite clear to us, the sexual aim has been directed away from the opposite sex.[1] If the injurious effects of these two kinds of developmental disturbance are less than might be expected, this moderation can be ascribed precisely to the complex way

[1] [See below, p. 191.]

in which the sexual instinct is put together, which makes it possible for a person's sexual life to reach a service [illegible] form more or less [illegible] or more [illegible] of the [illegible]. I have been able to [illegible] people suffering from inversion or 'contrary sexuality', is, indeed, often distinguished by their sexual instinct's possessing a special aptitude for cultural sublimation.[1]

More pronounced forms of the perversions and of homosexuality, especially if they are exclusive, do, it is true, make those subject to them socially useless and unhappy, so that it must be recognized that the cultural requirements even of the first stage are a source of suffering for a certain proportion of mankind. The fate of these people who differ constitutionally from the rest varies, and depends on whether they have been born with a sexual instinct which by absolute standards is strong or comparatively weak. In the latter case—where the sexual instinct is in general weak—perverts succeed in totally suppressing the inclinations which bring them into conflict with the moral demands of their stage of civilization. But this, from the ideal point of view, is also the only thing they succeed in achieving; for, in order to effect this suppression of their sexual instincts, they have used up the forces which they would otherwise employ in cultural activity. They are, as it were, inwardly inhibited and outwardly paralysed. What we shall be saying again later on about the abstinence demanded of men and women in the third stage of civilization applies to them too.

Where the sexual instinct is fairly intense, but perverse, there are two possible outcomes. The first, which we shall not discuss further, is that the person affected remains a pervert and has to put up with the consequences of his deviation from the standard of civilization. The second is far more interesting. It is that, under the influence of education and social demands, a suppression of the perverse instincts is indeed achieved, but it is a kind of suppression which is really no suppression at all. It can better be described as a suppression that has failed. The inhibited sexual instincts are,

it is true, no longer expressed as such—and this constitutes the success of the process—but they find expression in other ways which are quite as injurious to the subject and make him quite as useless for society as satisfaction of the suppressed instincts in an unmodified form would have done. This constitutes the failure of the process, which in the long run more than counterbalances its success. The substitutive phenomena which emerge in consequence of the suppression of the instinct go to make up what we describe as nervous illness, or, more precisely, the psychoneuroses. Neurotics are the class of people who, since they possess a recalcitrant organization, only succeed, under the influence of cultural requirements, in achieving a suppression of their instincts which is apparent and which becomes increasingly unsuccessful. They therefore only carry on their collaboration with cultural activities by a great expenditure of force and at the cost of an internal impoverishment, or are obliged at times to interrupt it and fall ill. I have described the neuroses as the 'negative' of the perversions[1] because in the neuroses the perverse impulses, after being repressed, manifest themselves from the unconscious part of the mind—because the neuroses contain the same tendencies, though in a state of 'repression', as do the positive perversions.[2]

Experience teaches us that for most people there is a limit beyond which their constitution cannot comply with the demands of civilization. All who wish to be more noble-minded than their constitution allows fall victims to neurosis; they would have been more healthy if it could have been possible for them to be less good. The discovery that perversions and neuroses stand in the relation of positive and negative is often unmistakably confirmed by observations made on the members of one generation of a family. Quite frequently a brother is a sexual pervert, while his sister, who, as a wo-

[1] [illegible]

[2] [Freud's first statement to this effect ... in the *Three Essays* ... 7 ... [illegible] ... him many years earlier in his letters to Fliess.]

being a woman, possesses a weaker sexual instinct, is a neurotic whose symptoms express the same tendencies as the perversions of her sexually more active brother. And correspondingly in many families the men are healthy but from a social point of view immoral to an undesirable degree while the women are high-minded and over-refined, but severely neurotic.

It is one of the obvious social injustices that the standards of civilization should demand from every one the same conduct of sexual life, conduct which can be followed without any difficulty by some people thanks to their organization but which imposes the heaviest psychical sacrifices on others, though indeed the injustice is as a rule wiped out by disobedience to the inhibitions of morality.

These considerations have been based so far on the requirement laid down by the second of the stages of civilization which we have portrayed (p. 180), the requirement that every sexual activity of the kind described as perverse is prohibited, while what is called normal sexual intercourse is freely permitted. We have found that even when the line between sexual freedom and restriction is drawn at this point, a number of human natures are misled into perversity and a number of others who make efforts not to be perverts must consequently develop neuroses and are forced to pay this penalty. It is easy to predict the result that will follow if sexual freedom is still further circumscribed and the requirements of civilization are raised to the level of the third stage, which bans all sexual activity outside legal marriage. The number of strong natures who can withstand the demands of civilization will increase enormously, and so will the number of weaker ones who, faced with the conflict between the pressure of cultural influences and the resistance of their constitution, take flight into neurotic illness.[1]

Let us now try to answer three questions that arise here.

What is the task that is set to the individual by the requirements of the third stage of civilization?

[1] [See footnote 1, p. 232 below.]

2. Can the legitimate sexual satisfaction that a person finds in marriage be an adequate compensation for the renunciation of all other satisfactions?

3. In what respect can the possession of children be considered as a motive for, or as an excuse for, the existence of the double standard?

The answer to the last question touches on a subject which has often been discussed and which must be briefly treated here. That sexual intercourse (like other strong emotions) has a special charm and importance for both sexes at the beginning of their relations, that it is not at all what we call a legal matter, and that abstinence is not difficult for many persons, has always been widely recognized by the most impartial observers. It may be asserted, however, that the task of measuring such a power is as difficult as the sexual impulse itself is obscure. Each individual case which comes under the observation of a physician shows the task of mastering it by reflecting the sexual life as a whole, and the attempt to base general rules on the observation of single cases has led to the most contradictory results. Most writers on the subject have been content to repeat the views of their predecessors, and the few who have had personal experience have usually been those who were least competent to undertake the task of a scientific investigation. Those who would have found it easier to answer sexual questions from a broad basis of general experience, and who would have been more severe critics of their own statements, have usually refrained from publishing their observations. The result is that we have only a few fragmentary statements on the subject, and these are often contradictory. Abstinence is said by some to be injurious to health, by others to be quite harmless. The most important statements which have been made in favor of abstinence are those which point out that a person who has indulged in sexual intercourse before marriage is more likely to be unfaithful to his wife than one who has not. Even those persons who have

retained their health under the requirements of the second stage of civilization will now succumb to neurosis in great numbers. For the psychical value of sexual satisfaction increases with its frustration. The dammed-up libido is now put to a position to detect even traces of the weaker spots which are scarcely observable in the structure of sexual life, and there it breaks through and causes substitutive formation of a neurotic kind, in the form of pathological symptoms. And we will also penetrate to the determinants of civilized sexuality sooner if we start out from the interdependence of sexual restrictions.

I am obliged to the question whether sexual intercourse outside marriage can ever be left unpunished for the reason that it imposes no marriage. There is a great abundance of material supporting a reply in the negative, but we can give only the briefest survey of it. I must stress the fact that sexual intercourse outside marriage is not to be considered as a new phenomenon which has arisen as a consequence of the present-day stringency of sexual morality in marriage. It is, on the contrary, the observance of restriction necessitated by regard for the wife's health. After three, four or five years the marriage becomes a failure in so far as it has proved unsatisfactory to sexual needs. For while the devices [illegible] for preventing conception spare sexual enjoyment, they detract from its value for both partners and even diminish its psychic appeal. Of the consequences of sexual intercourse outside marriage [illegible] a temporary one. It usually passes off as well as the moral shock to be overcome which should have been the successor to the original primitive one. The sparing of engagement and bodily depression to which most marriages are thus doomed puts [illegible] the same [illegible] more than

marriage except for being the poorer by the loss of an illusion, and they must once more make free use of their former ways of mastering and deflecting their sexual instincts. We need not enquire how far men, by then in their maturer years, succeed in this task. Experience shows that they very frequently avail themselves of the degree of sexual freedom which is allowed them—although only with reluctance and under a veil of silence—by even the strictest sexual code. The 'double' sexual morality which is valid for men in our society is the plainest admission that society itself does not believe in the possibility of enforcing the precepts which it itself has laid down. But experience shows as well that women, who, as being the actual vehicle of the sexual interests of mankind, are only endowed in a small measure with the gift of sublimating their instincts, and who, though they may find a sufficient substitute for the sexual object in an infant at the breast, do not find one in a growing child—experience shows, I repeat, that women, when they are subjected to the disillusionments of marriage, fall ill of severe neuroses which permanently darken their lives. Under the cultural conditions of to-day,[1] marriage has long ceased to be a panacea for the nervous troubles of women; and if we doctors still advise marriage in such cases, we are nevertheless aware that, on the contrary, a girl must be very healthy if she is to be able to tolerate it, and we urgently advise our male patients not to marry any girl who has had nervous trouble before marriage. On the contrary, the cure for nervous illness arising from marriage would be marital unfaithfulness. But the more strictly a woman has been brought up and the more sternly she has submitted to the demands of civilization, the more she is afraid of taking this way out; and in the conflict between her desires and her sense of duty, she once more seeks refuge in a neurosis. Nothing protects her virtue as securely as an illness. Thus the married state, which is held out as a consolation to the sexual instinct of the civilized person in his youth, proves to be inadequate even to the demands of the later period

life covered by it. There is no question of its being able to compensate for the deprivation which precedes it.

But even if the damage done by civilized sexual morality is a matter, it may be argued in reply to our first question [p. 193] that the cultural gain derived from such an extensive restriction of sexuality probably more than offsets these sufferings, which, after all, only affect a minority in a very severe form. I must confess that I am at a loss to balance gain against loss correctly on this point; but I could advance a great many more considerations on the side of the loss. Going back to the subject of abstinence, which I have already touched on, I must insist that a struggle in any trade or profession besides those involved in the processes and habits of the preparation of the necessities has for the most part not been fully appreciated.

The retardation of sexual development and sexual activity at which our education and civilization aim as a matter of principle begins with what seems to be a process necessary, as a rule, to the attainment of maturity in young people of the educated classes: it reaches its height in the years of early manhood. The connection between the intensity of the struggle against sexuality and the degree of the cultural value of the achievements which are possible for this struggle's sake to effect, and this is true of a few specially favourably organized natures, is unmistakable. But it is also true that the sublimation of sexuality, which is the mark of many cultural activities, can only become possible with the existence of sexual restriction. But in the vast majority of cases the struggle against sexuality exhausts the energy available in a character, and this is the very time when a young man's in

[1] [Cf. above, p. 139.]

need of all his forces in order to win his share and place in society. The relationship between the amount of [illegible] possessed and the amount of sexual activity necessary naturally varies very much from person to person and even from [illegible]. An abstinent artist is [illegible] conceivable but [illegible] abstinent young *man* [illegible] warranty. The latter case, by his self-restraint [illegible] forces for his struggle while the former probably [illegible] his artistic achievements powerfully stimulated by his sexual experience. In general I have not given the impression that sexual abstinence [illegible] to bring out energies and [illegible] that men of action or original thinkers or [illegible] are [illegible] forces. Far more often it goes to produce well behaved weaklings who [illegible] become [illegible] great mass of people that tends to follow, unwillingly [illegible] ideas given by strong individuals.

The fact that the sexual instinct between [illegible] generation a source [illegible] and [illegible] fashion is [illegible] the results produced by efforts at [illegible] [illegible] that may only attempt to suppress the instinct [illegible] marriage [illegible] gave [illegible] will be [illegible] then [illegible] use of it. But [illegible] more successful against it than attempts at [illegible], this is the suppression often goes too far, with the unwished-for result that when the instinct [illegible] to be [illegible] prepared [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] from the best [illegible] marriage for a young man. Women sense this, and prefer among their suitors those who have already proved their [illegible] with other women. The harmful results [illegible] that demand for [illegible] before marriage [illegible] women's natures are quite especially apparent. [illegible] education is far from [illegible] the task of [illegible] a girl's sensuality [illegible] marriage. [illegible] the most drastic measures. Not only [illegible] and sexual [illegible] and set a high [illegible] maintain the preservation [illegible] [illegible], but also protects the young woman [illegible]

as she grows up by keeping her ignorant of all the facts of the part she is to play and by not tolerating any trace of love in her which cannot lead to marriage. The result is that when the girl's parents authorities society allow her to fall in love, and as an aid to this psychical experiment and enters marriage [illegible] of her own feelings. In consequence of this artificial retardation in her further development she has nothing but good qualities to offer the man who has saved her chastity for her. In her mental feelings she is still attached to her parents whose authority she has thought [illegible] of her sexuality and in her physical behaviour she shows herself frigid, which deprives the man of any high degree of sexual pleasure. I do not know whether the ideal type of woman exists apart from [illegible] but I do not [illegible] But it is only on such a foundation as this that we can build if we wish to [illegible] with pleasure and success to ourselves for the purpose of [illegible] In this way, the preparation for marriage [illegible] of marriage itself. When, after entering marriage the wife discovers that her husband, instead of having saved up all his love for her, has wasted it on numerous [illegible] and love affairs, and, as a reward for her previous chastity, she is left with the choice between unappeased desire and [illegible] or a neurosis.

The sexual behaviour of a human being from *a certain point of view* [illegible] of reacting to life. In so far as excretion or [illegible] we are concerned with the purpose of [illegible] observing every [illegible] stress between [illegible] ing as strong sexual stimulus, his behaviour will be conditioned and regulated [illegible] of others as well. A special application of this proposition to sexual life has led the pattern for the exercise of other functions can easily be recognized in the female sex as a whole. Their upbringing [illegible] their concerning themselves

[illegible]

[1] [Cf. Moebius, 1903.]

that is, it follows the principle that *sexuality lays down the pattern* of behaviour [see above, p. 198], according to which the phantasies that accompany satisfaction on the sexual object are raised to a degree of excellence which is not easily found again in reality. A witty writer, Karl Kraus in the Viennese paper *Die Fackel*,[1] once expressed this truth in reverse by an exceedingly revolting 'Corporation is no more than an unsatisfying substitute for masturbation.'[2]

The strictness of the demands of civilization and the difficulty of the task of abstinence have contained—make avoidable—the use of the genitals of the two opposite sexes to the original purpose of abstinence and to favour other kinds of sexual activity which, it might be said, are equivalent to sexual intercourse. Since normal intercourse has been so evidently persecuted by morality and also, on account of the possibilities of infection by hygiene, what are known as the perversions—sexual intercourse between the two sexes in which other parts of the body take over the role of the genitals—have unquestionably increased in social importance. These activities cannot, however, be regarded as being as harmless as at first sight they appear to be. For the sexual instinct [3] has proved itself extraordinarily difficult to master. For the sake of the gratification that is to be had between two human beings from a sexual object it not only urges them on to the performance of the sexual act but also to the preparatory sexual activities. Another consequence of the aggravation of the conditions of normal sexual life is to be found in the spread of homosexuality. In addition to all those who are latent homosexuals in virtue of their organization, or who become so in their childhood, there must be reckoned the

[1] [Karl Kraus (1874–1936), the Austrian poet, satirist and playwright, was also a prominent figure in Viennese literary circles. He published his own periodical, *Die Fackel* (*The Torch*), from 1899 until his death. He is frequently referred to by Freud, who had a high opinion of his work. See, e.g., the Rat Man case-history (1909*d*), *Standard Ed.*, **10**, 227 n.]

[2] [A similar remark occurs in a letter written some years later by Freud to Ferenczi. See the passage quoted in the first paragraph of Section 3 of Freud and Ferenczi (1912–14), *Standard Ed.*, **13**, 202.]

[3] [See Freud's *Three Essays*, *Standard Ed.*, **7**, 150 ff.]

good number of those in whom, in their maturer years, a blocking of the main stream of their libido has caused a widening of the side-channels of perverse sexuality.

All these various harmful consequences of the requirement of abstinence converge in the one common result of completely ruining the preparation for marriage—that marriage which, civilized sexual morality thinks, should be the sole heir to the sexual impulsions. Every man whose libido, as a result of masturbatory or perverse sexual practices, has become habituated to situations and conditions of satisfaction which are not normal, develops diminished potency in marriage. Women, too, who have been able to preserve their virginity with the aid of similar measures, show themselves anaesthetic to normal intercourse in marriage. A marriage begun with a reduced capacity to love on both sides succumbs to the process of dissolution even more quickly than others. As a result of the man's weak potency, the woman is not satisfied, and she remains anaesthetic even in cases where her disposition to frigidity, derived from her education, could have been overcome by a powerful sexual experience. A couple like this finds more difficulties, too, in the prevention of children than a healthy one, since the husband's diminished potency tolerates the use of contraceptives badly. In this perplexity, sexual intercourse, as being the source of all their embarrassments, is soon given up and with it the basis of married life is abandoned.

I ask any well-informed person to bear witness to the fact that I am not exaggerating but that I am describing a state of affairs which is equally bad and can be observed over and over again. To the uninitiated it is quite incredible how seldom normal potency is to be found in a husband and how often a wife is frigid among married couples who live under the dominance of our civilized sexual morality, what a degree of renunciation, often on both sides, is entailed by marriage, and to what narrow limits married life—the happiness that is so ardently desired—is narrowed down. I have already explained that in these circumstances the most

obvious outcome is nervous illness, but I must further point out the way in which a marriage of this kind continues to exert a pernicious influence on the [illegible] even beyond [illegible]. At a first glance, it seems to be a case of transmission by inheritance, but closer inspection shows that it is rather a question of the effect of powerful [illegible] pressure. A neurotic wife who is unsatisfied by her husband's [illegible] as a mother, over-tender and over-anxious towards her child, on to which she transfers her need for love and she awakens it to sexual precocity. The bad relations between its parents, moreover, excite its emotional life and cause it to feel love and hatred to an intense degree while it is still at a very tender age. In strict upbringing, which tolerates no activity of the sexual life that has been aroused so early, finds support to the suppressing force and thus [illegible] that such [illegible] exactly necessary for bringing about a lasting nervous illness.

I return now to my earlier assertion [p. 18], that, in judging the neuroses their [illegible] importance is not as a rule taken into account. I do not mean by this the [illegible] of those states should want to [illegible] by reference to the [illegible] assurances of doctors that a few weeks' [illegible] water treatment or a change of air and scene will cure the condition. These are merely the [illegible] of quite ignorant persons and are [illegible] to be taken seriously. I intended to give the matter a still more serious consideration. It is on the contrary, a well-known fact that a chronic neurosis even if it does not totally put an end to [illegible] exercise, [illegible] except for a severe handicap in [illegible] of the same order, perhaps, as tuberculosis or a cardiac defect. The situation would even be [illegible] if neurotics were to exclude from [illegible] only a number of persons who were not in any case of the weaker sort, and [illegible] to say the most important [illegible] that were not very subservient. But far from this being so, I must insist upon the view that neuroses, whatever their extent and wherever they occur, always succeed in

[illegible] the purposes of civilization, and in that way actually perform the work of the suppressed mental forces that are hostile to civilization. Thus, when society pays for more and more of its far-reaching regulations by an increase in nervous illness, one is tempted to claim to have purchased a gain at the price of what can at best claim a gain at all. Let us, for instance, consider the very common case of a woman who does not love her husband because, owing to the conventions under which she entered marriage, she has no reason to love him. She loves very much what is over him, because he is the unconscious representative of the social marriage to which she has been brought up. She will in that case suppress every manifestation which would express the truth about her contradictions to fulfil her ideal, and she will make special efforts to play the part of a loving wife and later on a devoted mother. Her sexual suppression will be a neurotic illness, and the success will for a short time have taken revenge on the unloved husband and have caused him just as much lack of satisfaction and worry as would have resulted from an open acknowledgement of her true state of affairs. This example is only typical of what a process of civilization must be. Whatever failure to realize complete sexuality may be found in a civilized community, we may assume that the civilization is responsible for it. If a man, for example, has become overkind as a result of a sexual suppression, a certain amount of sexuality has been sacrificed to civilization, but the loss is more than compensated by the progress that has been made in that direction. Civilization could not be carried on without the suppression.

It is said that a restriction of sexuality in civilized communities is generally accompanied by an increase of anxiety about sexuality, that wherever there is much fear there is also much desire, and that the suppression has created the desire for its own purpose. A certain amount of anxiety is known to beget curiosity as to the result, and the curiosity of groups of people in questions that are excluded from [illegible]

any share in the future. In view of this, we may well raise the question whether our 'civilized' sexual morality is worth the sacrifice which it imposes on us, especially if we are still so much enslaved to hedonism as to include among the aims of our cultural development a certain amount of satisfaction of individual happiness. It is certainly not a physician's business to come forward with proposals for reforms, but it seemed to me that I might support the urgency of such proposals if I were to amplify Von Ehrenfels's description of the injurious effects of our 'civilized sexual morality' by pointing to the important bearing of that morality upon the spread of modern nervous illness.

[1] Christian von Ehrenfels (1859–1932), Professor of Philosophy at Prague, had been praised by Freud for his courageous criticisms of the institution of marriage, in Section 3 of Chapter III of the book on jokes (1905c).]

ON THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN
(1908)

EDITOR'S NOTE

ÜBER INFANTILE SEXUALTHEORIEN

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS:

1908 *Sexual-Probleme*, 4 12 [December], 763–779
1909 *S.K.S.N.*, 2, 159–174. 1912, 2nd ed., 1921, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, 5, 168–185
1931 *Sexualtheorie und Traumlehre*, 43–6.
1941 *G.W.*, 7, 171–188.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

'On the Sexual Theories of Children'
1924 *C.P.*, 2, 59–75 (Tr. D. Bryan.)

The present translation is a modified version of the one published in 1924.

This paper was first published in a later issue of the same periodical as the preceding paper (p. 179). Though it made its appearance so unostentatiously and though there may be little in it to surprise the modern reader, it in fact launched a quite remarkable quantity of new ideas for the first time on the world. The paradox becomes explicable when we realize that this paper was published some months before the Little Hans' case history (1909*b*), (though, as will be seen from footnote 2 on p. 208, that work was probably already in proof) and that the section of the *Three Essays* (1905*d*) on 'The Sexual Researches of Childhood' (*Standard Ed.*, 7, 194–7) was only added to that work in 1915, eight years after the publication of this paper, of which in fact that section is little more than an abstract. It is true that in an earlier paper on 'The Sexual Enlightenment of Children' (1907*c*), Freud quoted some of the material derived from Little Hans' (p. 134f. above)

and discussed very shortly the sexual curiosity of children. He even mentioned the existence of 'infantile sexual theories' (p. 137) but it was a bare mention without the least specification of their nature.

Here, then, the first readers of the present work were confronted, almost without previous warning, with the notions of fertilization through the mouth and of birth through the anus, of parental intercourse as something sadistic, and of the possession of a penis by members of both sexes. This last notion was the one with the most far-reaching implications, and they in turn find a first mention in these pages: the importance attached to the penis by children of both sexes, the results of the discovery that one sex is without it: the emergence in girls of 'envy for the penis' and in boys of the concept of 'the woman with a penis' and its bearing on one form of homosexuality. Finally, we have here the first explicit mention and discussion of the 'castration complex' itself, which had only been foreshadowed by a single obscure reference to a threat of castration in *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900a, *Standard Ed.*, 5, 619).

The peculiar wealth of material contained here is no doubt to be attributed largely to the findings in the 'Little Hans' analysis, the report upon which, recently completed, illustrated and expanded much of the content of the present paper.

ON THE SEXUAL THEORIES OF CHILDREN

The material on which the following study is based is derived from several sources. It was in the direct observation of what children say and do, as well as from what adult neurotics report of their childhood and from some few psychoanalytic treatments of children, partly from the memories and constructions, and from the unconscious memories transferred to the present, which result from the psychoanalysis of neurotics.

That the first of these three sources has not by itself supplied all that is worth knowing on the subject is due to the attitude which the adult habitually assumes towards the sexual life of children. He ignores it or treats it with horror as a sexual activity and therefore takes no trouble to observe any such thing when on the other hand he suppresses and mistrusts all those manifestations which might compel him to consider seriously the importance of obtaining information from this the most unequivocal and fertile source of all. It is a very restricted one. Whatever comes from the unprejudiced observation made by adults concerning their own children's sexual manifestations at the best adds to the impression that it may have been forgotten in retrospect. But in addition to this it has to be viewed in the light of the fact that the observers have subsequently become neurotic. The material that comes from the third source is open to all the criticisms which it is the custom to marshal against the trustworthiness of psychoanalysis and the reliability of the conclusions that are drawn from it. Thus I cannot attempt to justify it here, I can only give an assurance that those who know and practise the psychoanalytic technique acquire an excessive confidence in its findings.

I cannot guarantee the completeness of my results, but I can answer for the care taken in arriving at them.

There remains a difficult question to decide. How far may one assume that what is here reported of children generally is true of all children—that is, of every particular child? Pressure of education and variations of the sexual instinct certainly make great individual variations in the sexual behaviour of children possible, and, above all, influence the date at which a child's sexual interest appears. For this reason, I have not avoided my presentation of the material according to the successive epochs of childhood, but have combined with a single account things that come into play in different children sometimes earlier and sometimes later. It is my conviction that no child—none at least who is mentally normal and striking one who is intellectually gifted—can avoid being occupied with the problems of sex in the years *before* puberty.

I do not think much of the objection that neurotics are a special class of people, marked by an innate disposition that is 'degenerate' from whose childhood we must not be allowed to infer anything about the childhood of other people. Neurotics are people made, not born. They cannot be sharply differentiated from normal people and in their childhood they are not always easily distinguishable from those who remain healthy in later life. It is one of the most valuable results of our psychoanalytic investigations to have discovered that the neuroses of such people have no special mental content that is peculiar to them but that, as I might have expressed it above, they fall ill of the same complexes against which we healthy people struggle as well. The only difference is that healthy people know how to overcome those complexes without any gross damage demonstrable in practical life, whereas in nervous cases the suppression of the complexes succeeds only at the price of consequences of various kinds—that is to say, from a practical point of view it is a failure. In [illegible] and normal people my views approximate to each other much more closely than they do in later

life, so that I cannot regard it as a methodological error to make use of the communications of neurotics about their childhood for drawing conclusions by analogy about normal childhood life. But since those who later become neurotics very often have in their inborn constitution an especially strong sexual instinct and a tendency to precocity and to a premature expression of that instinct, they make it possible for us to recognize a great deal of infantile activity more sharply and clearly than our capacity for observation—which is in any case a burdened one—would enable us to do in other children. But we should of course only be able to assess the true value of these communications made by neurotic adults when, following Havelock Ellis's example, we shall have thought it worth while to collect the childhood memories of *healthy* adults as well.[1]

In consequence of unfavourable circumstances, both of an external and an internal nature, the following observations apply chiefly to the sexual development of one sex only—that is, of males. The value of a communication such as I am attempting here need not, however, be a purely descriptive one. A knowledge of infantile sexual theories in the shapes they assume in the thoughts of children can be of interest in various ways—even, surprisingly enough, for the explanation of myths and fairy tales. They are indispensable moreover for an understanding of the neuroses themselves, for in them these childish theories are still operative and acquire a determining influence upon the form taken by the symptoms.

If we could divest ourselves of our corporeal existence, and could view the things of this earth with a fresh eye as purely thinking beings, from another planet for instance, nothing perhaps would strike our attention more forcibly than the fact of the existence of two sexes among human

[1] Cf. Havelock Ellis (1903), Appendix B. Freud has discussed these narratives in a footnote to the second of his *Three Essays* (1905*d*), *Standard Ed.*, 7, 190–1.]

beings, who, though so much alike in other respects, yet mark the difference between them with such obvious external signs. But it does not seem that children choose this important fact in the same way as the starting-point of their researches into sexual problems. Some boys have known a father and mother as far back as they can remember people, they accept their existence as a reality which needs no further enquiry, and a boy has the same attitude towards a little sister from whom he is separated by only a short difference of age of one or two years. A child's desire for knowledge on this point does not in fact awaken spontaneously; it is perhaps by some unborn need for established causes that it is aroused. Under the goad of the sex-seeking instincts that dominate him, which, perhaps after the end of his second year, he is confronted with the arrival of a new baby. And a child whose own nursery has received no such addition is able, from observations made in other houses, to put himself in the same situation. The possible effects of such a case will be actually experiences of a less frank and direct kind that from now on he must for ever share all his possessions with the newcomer, have the effect of awakening his emotions and sharpening his capacities for thought. He often at first expresses his resentment by such a wish as 'I wish the stork would take it away again'[1] and occasionally even in small attacks upon the creature lying helpless in the cradle. A wider difference in age usually softens the expression of this primary hostility. In the same way, at a rather later age, if no small brother or sister has appeared, the child's wish for a playmate, such as he has seen in other families, may gain the upper hand.

At the instigation of these feelings and worries the child now comes to be occupied with the first, grand problem of life and asks himself the question 'Where do babies come from?'[2]

[1] [This anecdote appeared in the first edition of *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900). *Standard*, 4. 244.]

[2] [See footnote above, p. 135.]

a question which there can be no doubt at first is: 'Where do babies part from (or bring babies from)?' We seem to hear the echoes of this first problem in innumerable myths of many lands. Investigations, such as that research, the practice of a rival eugenics, as eugenic thinking were entrusted with the task of preventing the occurrence of such diseased events. Let us assume, however, that the child's thinking soon becomes independent of any suggestion, and henceforward goes on operating as a solitary and unaided instinct for research. When a child is not already too much intimidated, he sooner or later adopts the habit of addressing his answer from his parents or those in charge of him, who are to his eyes the sources of all knowledge. This method, however, fails. The child receives either evasive answers or a reproof for his curiosity or is confronted with the mythological assignment of the origin of babies to God in heaven, fairies, storks, etc. The stork brings the babies or it fetches them out of the water.' I have reason to believe that far more children than their parents suspect are dissatisfied with this solution and meet with energetic contradiction, which, however, they do not always express. I know of a three-year-old boy who, after receiving this piece of enlightenment, disappeared to the corner of his nurse. He was found at the edge of a big pond among the country house, towards which he had hurried in order to see the babies in the water. I also know of another boy who could only allow his belief to find expression in a hesitant remark that he knew better than that was not a stork that brought babies but a heron. It seems to me to follow from a great deal of information I have received that children refuse to believe the stork theory and that from the time of their deception and relief they nourish a distrust of adults and have a suspicion of there being something behind which is

[The part played in mental development by the experiences of birth was discussed by Freud in Chapter VII (C) of *The Interpretation of Dreams*, *Standard Ed.* 5, 561 and earlier in his [illegible] Section I of Part I. Ed.]

being withheld from them by the 'grown-ups', and that they consequently hide their further researches under a cloak of secrecy. With this, however, the child also experiences the first occasion for a psychical conflict: in those views for which he feels an instinctive kind of preference but which are not to gain the ear of the grown-ups are contrasted opposite impressions with other views, which are suggested by the authority of the grown-ups without being acceptable to his own self. Such a psychical conflict may soon turn into a psychical dissociation. The second views which are born in opposing grown-up ones with a certain amount of reflection become the dominant conscious views, while the other set which the child's own research has meanwhile aroused, and which are not supposed to reach, become the suppressed unconscious ones. The nuclear complex of a neurosis in this way begins to be built.

Recently the analysis of a seven-and-a-half-year-old boy[1] which his father undertook and which he has handed over to me for publication has given me a fresh proof of the correctness of a view towards which the psychoanalysis of adults had long been leading me. I now know that the charge which takes place in the mother during pregnancy does not escape the child's sharp eyes and that he reacts with all the better being to establish the true connection between the increase in his mother's size and the appearance of the baby. In the case just mentioned the boy was three and a half years old when a little sister was born and, as arrangements in quarters were limited, had to be taken charge of by the nurse and to leave the parents' bedroom. However, as was kept secret, and later, in accordance with the former views of the child's sexual researches, was repressed and forgotten.

[1 Soon after this paper in the 'Rat Man' case-history (*Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 10). Little Hans was using this term as a synonym to what I call here sexual theories. (1923.) – Between the two publications comes the present paper, where it is a question of years the application is wider.]

[2 [The case-history of Little Hans (1909), which was published shortly after the present paper.]

The 'stork fable', therefore, is not one of the sexual theories of children. On the contrary, it is the child's observation of animals, who make so little of their sexual life and to whom he feels so closely akin, that stirs [p. 24] his disbelief. What is sexual enlightenment, and [p. 25] how is it effected? Little babies grow inside their mothers' bodies, but we should be on the right track if we gave the preference to what [p. 26] arouses our children's powers of thinking. But such progress is [p. 27] checked by a piece of ignorance which [p. 28] our [p. 29] [see above, p. 24n.] [p. 30] has to make use of in the face of his own sexuality imposes on him.

These infantile sexual theories, which I shall now discuss, all have one very curious characteristic. Although they go astray in a grotesque fashion, yet each one of them contains a fragment of real truth, and in this they are analogous to the attempts at adults, which are looked at as strokes of genius at solving the problems of the universe which are too [illegible] for human understanding. What is correct in them has the mark in such theories is to be explained by their origin in the impressions of the sexual life of which children are capable owing to the organization of their body. It is not to any ordinary mental activity that they owe their expressions, but these persons arise but to the influences of the child's own sexuality [illegible] and thus as well we can speak of sexual theories of children as being typical and why we find the same mistaken beliefs in every child whose sexual life is accessible to us.

The first of these theories starts out from the neglect of the difference between the sexes in which I have stressed the beginning of this paper [p. 31] as being [illegible] of children. It consists *in attributing to everyone, including the female sex, a penis*, such as the boy knows from his own body. This piece of knowledge, which we must regard as the first sexual [illegible] that is ready in the child, and the penis is the leading erogenous zone and the chief object of sexual interest. The boy's estimate of his value is greatly reduced when he comes to imagine a person like himself who is

without this essential constituent. When a small boy sees his little sister's genitals, what he says shows that his prejudice is already strong enough to falsify his perception.[1] He does not comment on the absence of a penis, but invariably says, as though by way of explanation and to put things right: 'Her widdler's still quite small. But when she gets bigger it'll grow all right.'[2] The idea of a woman with a penis returns in later life in the dreams of adults: the dreamer, in a state of nocturnal sexual excitation, will throw a woman down, strip her and prepare for intercourse; and then, in place of the female genitals, he beholds a well-developed penis and breaks off the dream and the excitation. The numerous hermaphrodites of classical antiquity faithfully reproduce this idea, universally believing, as we may observe that to most normal people they cause no offence, while the real hermaphroditic formations of the genitals which are perpetually occur by Nature nearly always excite the greatest abhorrence.

If this idea of a woman with a penis becomes 'fixated' in any individual when he is a child, resisting all the influences of later life and making him as a man unable to do without a penis as a sexual object, then although in other respects he may lead a normal sexual life, he is bound to become a homosexual, and will seek his sexual object among men who, owing to some other physical and mental characteristics, remind him of women.[3] Real women, when he comes to know them later, remain impossible as sexual objects for him, because they lack the essential sexual attraction, indeed, in connection with another impression of his childhood life,

[1] This 'falsified perception' or, as Freud afterwards named it, this 'denial or disavowal' was very much later to become the basis of important theoretical discussions. Cf. in particular the paper on Fetishism (1927e) and Chapter VIII of the posthumous *Outline of Psycho-Analysis* (1940a [1938]).]

[2] [Cf. an almost identical remark by 'Little Hans'. *Standard Ed.*, 10, 11.]

[3] [Freud returned to this in his case history of 'Little Hans' (1909b), *Standard Ed.*, 10, 109.]

they may even become a deterrent to him. The child having been threatened with castration on the penis, will usually have obtained pressure by stimulating it with his hand or will have reacted to the threat by his parents or nurse and terrorized by the threat having the penis cut off. The effect of this threat of castration is proportionate to the value set upon that organ and is generally extraordinarily deep and persistent. Legends and myths testify to the upheaval in the child's emotional life and to the horror which is linked with the castration complex and the fear which in subsequent years remembered by consciousness with corresponding reactions. The women whose genitalia were seen later on are regarded as mutilated organs and as the result of this threat, and they therefore arouse horror instead of pleasure in the homosexual. It is not necessary to be surprised in any way when the homosexual comes to learn from science that his childish assumption that women had a penis too was not so far wrong after all. Anatomy has recognized the clitoris within the female pudendum as being an organ that is homologous to the penis and the physiology of the sexual processes has been able to add that this small penis which does not grow any bigger behaves in fact during childhood like a real and genuine penis, that it becomes the seat of excitations which are to be wrongly ascribed, that an excitation gives the little girl's sexuality a masculine character and that a wave of repression in the years of puberty is necessary in order that this masculine sexuality may be discarded and the woman to emerge. Some of the severe forms of hysteria were established whether by the direct passage of this excitation of the clitoris so that they remain attached to masculinity, or by such excessive repression according to which that organ is partly replaced by hysterical compensatory formations (all

[1] The term 'penis-envy' seems to be used in the present sense for the first time in *Neurotic Inv.*, 10, 6, and there is a suggestion of it in connection with the idea of a threat of castration in a footnote to *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900a), *Standard Ed.*, 5, 519.]

this seems to show that there is some truth in the infantile sexual theory that women, like men, possess a penis.[1]

It is easy to observe that little girls share their brothers' opinion of it. They develop a great interest in that part of the boy's body. But this interest promptly falls under the sway of envy. They feel themselves unfairly treated. They make attempts to emulate in the posture that is made possible for them by their possessing a big penis, and when a girl declares that she would rather be a boy, we know what deficiency her wish is intended to put right.

If [illegible] is given over the [illegible] penis by wanting to fill [illegible] the sadistic [illegible] their [illegible]. That the baby grows inside the mother's body is obviously not a sufficient explanation. How does it get there? What starts its development? That the father has something to do with it seems likely, because just as the baby is [illegible] as well.[2] Against the penis certainly [illegible] as, too, in these mysterious happenings the [illegible] which are [illegible] all these activities of the [illegible] the light beam [illegible]. At [illegible] to this explanation are [illegible] when the child comes to account for [illegible] urges to do [illegible] press, to knock to pieces, to tear open and [illegible] but when the child it seems to be well [illegible] to [illegible] penis [illegible] by [illegible] and to [illegible] by his father's penis [illegible] by means of which the boy is [illegible] his mother's body at [illegible] this act is [illegible] perversity. It [illegible] that its way it is [illegible] that has neither possesses a penis [illegible] as a man does, and the existence of the cavity which receives the penis remains unsuspected by him. It is not hard to guess that the [illegible] has [illegible] at all events makes it easier for

[1] *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, Standard Ed., 7, 219. [A similar statement is found in a letter to Fliess of November 14, 1897 (Freud, 1950a, Letter 75).]

[2] [See "Analysis of a Five-Year-Old Boy" and Standard Ed., 10, [illegible].]

him to see and forget them. But knowing and forgetting however are not the precise opposites that they seem. Knowledge once created never loses the stamp of its birth and the first time it is put to use it functions as the standard by which later

I must confess that I envy anyone who takes it for granted that he can believe in the sexual theories of children. If the boy was not for ever looking down and if his gaze was not directed from time to time by his nurse towards the genital pathway [1] the sexual question *for him must be awaited as a piece of extraordinary good luck*. When in later life the same question arises in a boy's mind as to where babies come from, it is answered in accordance with the theory that the baby emerges from the mother's bowels, as a piece of hard stool is passed. The analogy with the act of micturition is not so obvious, and it is only in the story of Little Red Riding Hood that I have come across traces of it. These theories are expressed naïvely and are consciously remembered later on; they no longer contain anything to frighten us. These same children have by then undergone a change; for many years they have lived in another country of their own, which is strictly cut off, by the repression of the sexual impulses, from the world of their waking thoughts. At this time a child is scarcely willing to be reminded of his sexual researches and theories. The child was still at a stage when sexuality was not yet divided into male and female; libido was of a uniformly masculine character. The world looked like a heap of fragments, each bearing the stamp of the masculine genital. I am not sure which part was played in the child's sexual researches by the theory of parthenogenesis; but it is certain that the child's theory of coitus could not be described as being a probable one.

It is hard to believe, however, that it would be advisable to grant women the privilege of giving birth to children. If babies are born through the anus, then

[1] [The first edition has "sexual pathway". The error was corrected in the second edition. It is interesting to find that in a few cases (see above, p. 136)]

a man can give birth just as well as a woman. It is therefore possible for a boy to imagine that he too has children of his own, without there being any need to accuse him of feminine inclinations. He is merely giving expression to his still active anal erotism.

If the cloacal theory of birth is preserved in consciousness during later years—as occasionally happens, it is accompanied by a solution, no longer, it is true, a primary one, of the problem of the origin of babies. Here it is like being in a fairy story: one eats some particular thing and gets a child from it. This infantile theory of birth is revived in cases of insanity. A maniacal woman, for instance, will lead the visiting doctor to a little heap of faeces which she has deposited in a corner of her cell and say to him with a laugh: 'That's the baby I had today.'

The third of the typical sexual theories arises in children if, through some chance domestic occurrence, they become witnesses of sexual intercourse between their parents. Their perceptions of what is happening are bound, however, to be very incomplete. Whatever detail it may be that comes under their observation—whether it is the relative positions of the two people, or the sounds they make, or some accessory circumstances—in every case they arrive at the same conclusion, that is, they adopt what may be called a *sadistic view of coition*. They see in it something that the stronger participant is forcibly inflicting on the weaker, and they (especially boys) compare it to a fight of the kind they are familiar with from their intercourse with other children, and which, incidentally, is not without an admixture of sexual excitation. I have not been able to establish that children recognize this behaviour on the part of their parents which they have witnessed as the missing link needed for solving the problem of babies; it appears more

[illegible] *Standard Ed.*, 10, [illegible] *Standard Ed.*, 17, 81.]

[illegible] began to think about the pro[illegible] [illegible] have led to [illegible] memories of paren[illegible] intercourse, [illegible] he was [illegible] his first years and was sharing his parents' bedroom.[1]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] case history [illegible] Standard Ed., 17, 48 ff.]

a [illegible] quarrel and not when they are friendly gestures so that one need not be surprised if the quarrel is carried on at table as well and finds a settled by the same method which he himself is accustomed to use as a result of his witnessing his parents or brothers and sisters or playmates.

Moreover, if the child discovers spots of blood on his mother's bed linen or on her underclothes, he regards it as a confirmation of his view. It proves to him that his father has made a further similar assault on his mother during the night whereas we should rather take the bloodstains to be proof that there had been a temporary cessation of sexual intercourse. Marked the otherwise inexplicable horror of blood shown by neurotics finds its explanation from this connection. Once again, however, the child's mistake contains a fragment of truth. For in certain familiar circumstances a trace of blood is in fact judged as a sign that sexual intercourse has been begun.

A question connected somewhat indirectly with the analytic problem of where babies come from also engages the child: the question as to the manner and content of the state called being married, and he answers the question differently according as his chance perceptions in relation to his parents have coincided with instances of which are still pleasurably recollected. All that these answers seem to have in common is that the child pictures married pleasurable satisfaction from being married and suppresses that it involves a disregard of modesty. The one I have most frequently met with is that *each of the married couple urinates in front of the other*. A variation of this, which sounds as if it was meant to indicate a greater knowledge symbolically, is that *the man urinates into the woman's chamber pot*. In other instances the mere being married is supposed to be that *the two people show their private parts to each other* without being ashamed. In one case in which education had succeeded in postponing sexual knowledge especially late, a fourteen-year-old girl, who had already begun to menstruate, arrived from the books she had read at the idea that being married consisted

in a 'mixing of blood', and since her own sister had not yet started her periods, the lustful girl made an assault on a female visitor who had confessed that she was just then menstruating, so as to force her to take part in this 'blood-mixing'.

Children's opinions about the nature of marriage, which are not seldom remembered by conscious memory, have great significance for the symptomatology of later neurotic illness. At first they find expression in children's games in which each child does with another whatever it is that in his view constitutes being married; and then later on the wish to be married may choose the infantile form of expression and so make its appearance in a phobia which is at first sight unrecognizable, or in some corresponding symptom.[1]

These seem to be the most important of the typical sexual theories that children produce spontaneously in early childhood, under the sole influence of the component instincts of the sexual instinct. I know that I have not succeeded in making my material complete or in establishing an unbroken connection between it and the rest of infantile life. But I may add here one or two supplementary observations, whose absence would otherwise be noticed by any well-informed person. Thus, for instance, there is the significant theory that a baby is got by a kiss – a theory which obviously betrays the predominance of the erotogenic zone of the mouth. In my experience this theory is exclusively feminine and is sometimes met with as pathogenic in girls whose sexual researches have been subjected to extremely strong inhibition in childhood. Again, through an accidental observation one of my women patients happened upon the theory of the 'couvade', which, as is well known, is a general custom among some races and is probably intended to contradict the doubts as to paternity which can never be entirely overcome. A rather eccentric uncle of this patient's stayed at home for days after the birth of his

1. The games that are most significant for later neuroses are playing at 'doctor' and at 'father and mother'.

judgement of teachers that excitement of sexual life at this age 'corrupts' children.

repressed.

neurotics, the knowledge that originated in early childhood comes to light. I also know of two boys between ten and thirteen years old who, though it is true that they listened to the sexual information, rejected it with the words: '*Your* father and other people may do something like that, but I know for certain *my* father never would.'[1] But however widely children's later reactions to the satisfaction of their sexual curiosity may vary, we may assume that in the first years of childhood their attitude was absolutely uniform, and we may feel certain that at that time all of them tried most eagerly to discover what it was that their parents did with each other so as to produce babies.

[1] [This anecdote was repeated by Freud in his somewhat later paper on a special type of object-choice (1910*h*). *Standard Ed.* **11**, 170, where some further remarks on the present subject will be found.]

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON HYSTERICAL ATTACKS
(1909 [1908])

ALLGEMEINES ÜBER DEN HYSTERISCHEN ANFALL

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS:

1908 Probable date of composition.
1909 *Z. Psychother. med. Psychol.* **1**, 1 [January], 10–14.
1909 *S. K. S. N.* **2**, 156–160. 1912 2nd ed., 1921, 3rd ed.
1924 *G.S.*, **5**, 255–260.
1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 235–240.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATION

'General Remarks on Hysterical Attacks'

1924 *C.P.*, **2**, 100–104 (Tr. D. Bryan)

The present translation, with a slightly changed title, is a modified version of the one published in 1924.

This paper was contributed by Freud at the invitation of Albert Moll to the first number of a new periodical which he was founding. Some months earlier, on April 8, 1908, Freud had spoken on the same subject at a meeting of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society. His last discussion of it had been in Section IV of the Breuer and Freud 'Preliminary Communication' (1893*a*) to the *Studies on Hysteria*. The present paper is one of those highly condensed, almost schematic, works in which we can detect the seeds of later developments. See especially Section B. But Freud did not return again to the actual theme of hysterical attacks till twenty years later, in his discussion of Dostoevsky's 'epileptic' attacks (1928*b*).

SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON HYSTERICAL ATTACKS

A

[illegible] is the same too.

1. [illegible]

[illegible] *of Dreams*, *Standard Ed.*, 5, 494.]

simultaneously—that is to say, through *condensation*. The elements common to the two or more phantasies constitute the nucleus of the representation, as they do in dreams. The phantasies which are thus made to coincide are often of quite a different nature. They may, for instance, be a recent wish and the reactivation of an infantile impression. The symptom-picture arises in that case made to serve both purposes. (Cf. again a most analogous way. Hysterical patients who make very extensive use of condensation may have a single form of attack in which others express their numerous contingent phantasies by a manipulation of the means of attack.

2. The attack becomes determined through the fact that the patient attempts to carry out the activities of both the figures who appear in the phantasy—that is to say, through *multiple innervation*. (Compare, for instance, the example I mentioned in my paper on 'Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality', in which the patient tore off her dress with one hand (as the man) while she pressed it to her body with the other (as the woman).[1])

3. A particularly extensive distortion is effected by an *antagonistic innervation of the innervation*. This is analogous to the transformation of an element into its opposite, which commonly happens in the dream-work.[2] For instance an exhibitionistic wish may be represented in the attack by drawing back the dress over the face; the hand is next over the spinal column. It is possible that the well-known *arc de cercle* which forms a strong attack of hysteria is more easily explained as an energetic repudiation, like this, through antagonistic innervation, of a posture of the body that is a substitute for sexual intercourse.

4. Scarcely less confusing and misleading is a *reversal of the chronological order* with which the phantasy that is portrayed when once more has its complete counterpart in a number

[1] [See above, p. 166.]

[2] [See, e.g., ... *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900a), *Standard Ed.*, 4, ...]

of dreams which begin with the end of the action and end with its beginning. Supposing, for instance, that a hysterical woman has a phantasy of seduction in which she is sitting reading in a park with her skirt slightly lifted so that her foot is visible, a gentleman approaches and speaks to her. They then go somewhere and make love to one another. This phantasy is acted out in the attack by her beginning with the convulsive stage, which corresponds to the coitus; by her then getting up, going into another room, sitting down and reading; and presently answering an imaginary remark addressed to her.[1]

The two last-mentioned forms of distortion give us some idea of the intensity of the resistances which the repressed material must take into account even when it breaks through in a hysterical attack.

B

The onset of hysterical attacks follows laws that are easily understandable. Since the repressed complex consists of a libidinal cathexis and an ideational content (the phantasy),[2] the attack can be considered as *symbolically* when the content of the complex itself is only cathected or touched on by something connected with it; as *organically*, when, for internal somatic reasons and as a result of psychical influences from outside, the libidinal cathexis rises above a certain degree; as in the service of the *primary purpose* as an expression of a flight into illness; when reality becomes distressing or frightening—that is, as a *consolation*, and in the service of the *secondary purposes*, with which the illness allies itself, as soon as, by producing an attack, the patient can

[1] [A fuller and slightly different account of this example was added as footnote to *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900*a*), *Standard Ed.* 4, 329.]

[2] The distinction here drawn between ideational content and affective energy was explained in greater detail in Freud's later psychological account of repression (1915*d*), *Standard Ed.* 14, 152–7 and 182–5.]

consciously simulated

C

[This was in the paper on 'Hysteria'.]

a phantasy which is opposed to the act of satisfaction [repeat-
ition] of the, with retention of the phantasy which is repressed
of the phantasy which then comes to exist as a hysterical
attack [either] in an enlarged form, or in a modified one
and adapted to new environmental impressions. Further-
more the phantasy may even reinstate the act of satis-
faction originally [which had already been given up].
[There is] a double conflict between a hysterical repression
[and the] failure of repression and [the return of the repressed].

The involuntary passing of urine is certainly not to be
regarded as comparable with the discharges of a hysterical
attack. It is merely [using the] same [form] as a violent
pleasure. Moreover [the] latter may also be met with
in unmarried cases of hysteria. It is no more necessary
with a hysterical [attack] than with overtaking. It occurs more
readily in attacks if the patient's attention had been drawn
by the doctor's [questions] to the [idea] of making a
[differential diagnosis]. Self-injury may occur in hysterical
attacks more frequently in the case of men where it repeats
an [element in the] [action], as for instance, the [case of a]
romp.

The [so-called] 'unconsciousness the absence,'[1] in a hysterical
attack is [derived] from the [dreaming] but is also [part of]
consciousness which is [observable] at the [climax] of very
[powerful] sexual [sensations], including [certain] dreams. This
[state] of [unconsciousness] can be traced with most certainty
where [hysterical] [absences] arise from the [habit] of [day]-
[dreaming] [people] of the female sex. The [so-called] [petit]
[mal][2] [sometimes] during [day]-[dreaming], which are so com-
[mon] in hysterical subjects [show] the same [thing]. The
[mechanism] of these [absences] is [extremely] simple. After
[repeated] attacks it is concentrated to [begin with] on the
course of the [process] of [satisfaction] with the occurrence of the
[sensation] [at which] [the] [process] [stops] [suddenly]

[1] [The French term.]

[2] [Cf. Freud, 'Some Points for a Comparative Study of Organic and Hysterical Paralysis' (1893), *Standard Ed.* 1, xxii and xxv.]

FAMILY ROMANCES
(1909 [1908])

removed, so that there ensues a momentary void in her consciousness. This gap in consciousness, which might be termed a *psychogenic* one, is then widened by the secondary repression, and it can swallow up everything that the repressing agency rejects.

■

What paves the way for the motor discharge of the repressed libido in a hysterical attack is the reflex mechanism of the act of coition, a mechanism which is ready-made in everybody including women, and which we see coming into manifest operation when an over-strained sufferer is made to sexual activity. Already in ancient times [illegible] was described as a "minor epilepsy". We might alternatively say that a convulsive hysterical attack is an equivalent of coition. The analogy with an epileptic fit is unmistakable, since its genesis is even less understood than that of hysterical attacks.[1]

Speaking as a whole, hysterical attacks, like hysteria in general, revive a piece of sexual activity which existed during their childhood and at that time possessed an essentially auto-erotic character. It can often be observed that girls who have shown a boyish nature and who have grown up to the years before puberty are precisely those who become hysterical from puberty onwards. In a large number of cases the hysterical neurosis merely represents an exaggeration of the typical wave of repression which, by doing away with her masculine sexuality, allows the woman to emerge.[2]

[1] [Cf. Freud's later discussion of the relations between epilepsy and hysterical attacks in his paper on Dostoevsky (1928b).]

[2] [Cf. *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905d), *Standard Ed.* 7, p. 241. See also above, p. 2.]

DER FAMILIENROMAN DER NEUROTIKER

(*a*) GERMAN EDITIONS:

1908 Probable date of composition.

1909 In O. Rank, *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden*, 64–8, Leipzig and Vienna: Deuticke. (1922, 2nd ed., 82–6.)

1931 *Neurosenlehre und Technik*, 300–4.

1934 *G.S.*, **12**, 367–71.

1934 *Psychoan. Päd.*, **8**, 281–5.

1941 *G.W.*, **7**, 227–31.

(*b*) ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS:

1913 In Rank, *Myth of the Birth of the Hero*, 7. *Nerv. Ment. Dis.*, **40**, 668, 718. (Tr. S. E. Jelliffe, F. Robbins.)

1914 The same, in volume form, 63–8. New York: Nervous and Mental Diseases Publishing Co.

'Family Romances'

1950 *C.P.*, **5**, 74–8. (Tr. James Strachey.)

The present translation is a very slightly modified reprint of the one published in 1950.

When it first appeared, in Rank's book, it bore no heading of any kind and did not form a separate section. It was simply introduced into the course of Rank's argument with a few words of acknowledgement. The work was only given a title in German when it was first reprinted. Since the preface to Rank's book is dated 'Christmas, 1908', Freud's contribution was probably written in that year. The idea of these 'family romances', and even their name, had long been in his mind: though at first he attributed them specially to paranoics. See his letters to Fliess of January 24, and May 25, 1897 and June 21, 1898 (Freud, 1950*a*, Letter 57, Draft M, and Letter 91 where the term is first used).

FAMILY ROMANCES

and seems. His sense that his own affection is not being fully reciprocated then leads to a vent in the direction of consciously recollected later fantasies of being a stepchild or an adopted child. Psychoanalysts have not devoted special studies very frequently to romantic novels or novelists, on which I would like to see a research undertaking that would be respectful to their peculiarities. But here the importance of sex is already in evidence for a boy is far more inclined to feel hostile impulses towards his father than towards his mother and has a far more intense need to get free from him than from her. In this respect the imaginative activity of the novelist much weaker. These [illegible] remain at the level of mental [illegible] or [illegible] the latter which entails [illegible] [illegible]

The later stages in the development of the neurotic's estrangement from his parents, begun in this manner might be described as the [illegible]. It is [illegible] remain [illegible] but can almost always be revealed by psychoanalysis. For a quite [illegible] marked [illegible] and also of an [illegible] highly gifted people. This activity emerges first in childhood play, and then, starting roughly from the age of puberty, takes over the topic of family relations. As the most common example of this peculiar imaginative activity is to be seen in the familiar day-dreaming which persists far beyond puberty. If these day-dreams are closely examined, they are found to serve as the fulfilment of wishes and as a correction of actuality. They have two principal aims, an erotic and an ambitious one, though an erotic aim is usually concealed behind the latter too. At about the period I have mentioned, then, the child's imagination becomes engaged in the task of getting free from the parents of whom he now has a low opinion and of replacing

Cf. Hysterical Phantasies and their Relation to Bisexuality. [Where a reference will be found to the literature of the subject. [See above, p. 159.]

them by others, who as a rule are of higher social standing. He will make use in this connection of any opportune coincidences from his actual experience, such as his becoming acquainted with the Lord of the Manor or some landed proprietor if he lives in the country or with some member of the aristocracy if he lives in town. Chance occurrences of this kind arouse the child's envy, which finds expression in a phantasy in which both his parents are replaced by others of better birth. The technique used in developing phantasies like this (which are, of course, conscious at this period) depends upon the ingenuity and the material which the child has at his disposal. There is also the question of whether the phantasies are worked out with greater or less effort to obtain verisimilitude. This stage is reached at a time at which the child is still in ignorance of the sexual determinants of procreation.

When presently the child comes to know the difference in the parts played by fathers and mothers in their sexual relations, and realizes that '*pater semper incertus est*', while the mother is '*certissima*',[1] the family romance undergoes a curious curtailment: it contents itself with exalting the child's father, but no longer casts any doubts on his maternal origin, which is regarded as something unalterable. This second (sexual) stage of the family romance is actuated by another motive as well, which is absent in the first (asexual) stage. The child, having learnt about sexual processes, tends to picture to himself erotic situations and relations, the motive force behind this being his desire to bring his mother (who is the subject of the most intense sexual curiosity) into situations of secret infidelity and into secret love-affairs.[2] In this way the child's phantasies, which started by being, as it were, asexual, are brought up to the level of his later knowledge.

Moreover the motive of revenge and retaliation, which

[1] [A Roman legal tag: 'paternity is always uncertain, maternity is most certain.']

[2] [illegible] *Standard Ed.*, 9, [illegible]

was in the foreground at the earlier stage is also to be found at the later one. It is, as a rule, precisely these neurotic children who were punished by their parents for sexual naughtiness and who now revenge themselves on their parents by means of phantasies of this kind.

A writer should very specially be on his guard against using stories such as these in order to rob those born before him of their prerogatives—in a way which reminds one of historical tendentiousness. Each individual has to establish in attaining to his manhood as many fictitious love-relations as he has had actual parents. No interesting variation of the family romance is open to him apart from a displacement of relationship by substituting superiors and masters for parents. Sometimes there are also other purposes at work they can direct the course to be taken by the fantasy—for instance, motives of prudishness and a large range of apologetic tendencies. In this way, for instance, the young physician who undertook to get rid of his former degree of kinship with one of his sisters at the latter's instance, is actually attracted by her.[1]

If anyone is inclined to turn away in horror from this description of the deepest heart of childhood, or even to deplore the existence of such things, he should observe that these wishes from which, when seen in consciousness, we are only separated by a thin veil, are the very ones which have created all the fantasies of the past centuries. The overthrow of the parents or of the father-figure by grandiose wishes, the longing for new and dearer parents are coupled with allusions that are derived entirely from real recollections of the actual and humble circumstances of the child and is not ignorant of the former brilliance of his lot. With the whole effort at replacing

[1] This last point is from a letter to Fliess of June 20, 1898 (Freud, 1950a, Letter 91).]

the real father by a superior one is only an expression of the child's longing for the happy, vanished days when his father seemed to him the noblest and strongest of men and his mother the dearest and loveliest of women. He is turning away from the father whom he knows to-day to the father in whom he believed in the earlier years of his childhood, and his phantasy is no more than the expression of a regret that those happy days have gone. Thus in these phantasies the over-valuation that characterizes a child's earliest years comes into its own again. An interesting contribution to this subject is afforded by the study of dreams. We learn from their interpretation that even in later years, if the Emperor and Empress appear in dreams, those exalted personages stand for the dreamer's father and mother.[1] So that the child's over-valuation of his parents survives as well in the dreams of normal adults.

[1] Cf. my *Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900a. *Standard Ed.* **5**, 353.

SHORTER WRITINGS
(1903–1909

CONTRIBUTION TO A QUESTIONNAIRE ON READING[1]

(1907)

You ask me to name 'ten good books' for you and refrain from adding to this any word of explanation. Thus you leave to me not only the choice of the books but also the interpretation of your request. Accustomed to paying attention to small signs, I must, then, trust the wording in which you clothe your enigmatic demand. You did not say: 'the ten most magnificent works (of world literature)', in which case I should have been obliged to reply, with so many others: Homer, the tragedies of Sophocles, Goethe's *Faust*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, etc. Nor did you say the 'ten most significant books', among which scientific achievements like those of Copernicus, of the old physician Johann Weier on the belief in witches, Darwin's *Descent of Man*, and others, would then have found a place. You did not even ask for 'favourite books', among which I should not have forgotten Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Heine's *Lazarus*. I think, therefore, that a particular stress falls on the 'good' in your phrase, and that with this predicate you mean to designate books

[1] [illegible] ... Masaryk, Arthur Schnitzler and Jakob Wassermann.

to which one stands in rather the same relationship as to 'good' friends, to whom one owes a part of one's knowledge of life and view of the world—books which one has enjoyed oneself and gladly commends to others, but in connection with which the element of timid reverence, the feeling of one's own smallness in the face of their greatness, is not particularly prominent.

I will therefore name ten such 'good' books for you which have come to my mind without a great deal of reflection.

Multatuli, Letters and Works. [Cf. p. 133 n.]
Kipling, *Jungle Book*.
Anatole France, *Sur la pierre blanche*
Zola, *Fécondité*.
Merezhkovsky, *Leonardo da Vinci*
G. Keller, *Leute von Seldwyla*.
C. F. Meyer, *Huttens letzte Tage*
Macaulay, *Essays*.
Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*
Mark Twain, *Sketches*.

I do not know what you intend to do with this list. It seems a most peculiar one even to me. I really cannot let it go without comment. The problem of why precisely these and not other equally 'good' books I will not begin to tackle. I merely wish to throw light on the relation between the author and his work. The connection is not in every case as firm as it is, for instance, with Kipling's *Jungle Book*. For the most part I could just as well have singled out another work by the same author; for instance in the case of Zola, *Docteur Pascal* and the like. The same man who has given us one good book has often presented us with several good books. In the case of Multatuli I felt in two minds whether to reject the private letters in favour of the 'Love Letters' or the latter in favour of the former, and for that reason wrote 'Letters and Works'. Genuinely creative writing of purely poetical value has been excluded from this list, probably because your charge—good books—did not seem exactly aimed at such,

for in the case of C. F. Meyer's *Hutten* I must set its 'goodness' far above its beauty, 'edification' above aesthetic enjoyment.

You have touched on something, with your request to name for you 'ten good books', on which an immeasurable amount could be said. And so I will conclude, in order not to become even more informative.

Yours sincerely,

FREUD.

PROSPECTUS FOR *SCHRIFTEN ZUR ANGEWANDTEN SEELENKUNDE*

(1907)

THE *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* [illegible] which this publication is addressed [illegible] educated people who without actually being psychologists or medical men are nevertheless able to appreciate the significance of the human mind for its significance in the understanding and deepening of our lives. The papers will appear in no preconceived order but will present in each instance a single study, which will undertake the application of psychological knowledge to subjects in art and literature, to the history of civilization and religions, and in analogous fields. These studies will sometimes bear the character of exact investigations, sometimes that of speculative efforts, attempting now to embrace a larger problem, now to penetrate into a more restricted one. But in every case they will be in the nature of original achievements and will avoid resembling mere reviews or compilations.

[1] Papers on Applied Mental Science. The first publication was of *Der Wahn und die Träume in W. Jensens Gradiva*. [illegible] Vienna, Deuticke, 1907; translation by H. M. Barker, introduction by *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* and [illegible] Basle and M. Peters [illegible] Mental Science. *Delusion and Dream* [illegible] reprinted [illegible] *Delusion and Dream* [illegible] The present translation is a revised version of that published in 1952.

Twenty books were published in the series of *Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde* between 1906 and [illegible] was published by Hugo Heller and reissued in 1912 and a year later by Franz Deuticke with [illegible] Apart from Freud's work on Jensen's *Gradiva* the series also included [illegible] on Leonardo [illegible] as well as works by among others, Rank, Jung, Abraham, Rank, Sadger, Pfister, Ernest Jones and Storfer.

The Editor feels himself in duty bound to vouch for the originality and general merit of the articles appearing in this series. For the rest, he does not wish either to interfere with the independence of his contributors or to be held answerable for what they express. The fact that the first numbers of the series take particular account of the theories which he himself has advocated in the sphere of science should not determine the view taken of this enterprise. On the contrary, the series is open to the exponents of divergent opinions and hopes to be able to give expression to the variety of points of view and principles in contemporary science

THE PUBLISHER THE EDITOR

PREFACE TO WILHELM STEKEL'S *NERVOUS ANXIETY-STATES AND THEIR TREATMENT*[1]

(1908)

My investigations into the aetiology and psychical mechanism of neurotic illnesses, which I have pursued since 1895, attracted little notice to begin with among my fellow specialists. At length, however, those investigations have met with recognition from a number of medical research workers and have also drawn attention to the psycho-analytic methods of examination and treatment to which I owe my findings. Dr. Wilhelm Stekel, who was one of the first of the colleagues to whom I was able to impart a knowledge of psycho-analysis, and who has himself become familiar with its technique through many years of practice in it, has now undertaken the task of working over one topic in the clinical aspect of these neuroses on the basis of my views and of presenting medical readers with the experiences he has obtained through the psycho-analytic method. If I am glad to take the responsibility for his work in the sense which I have just indicated, I think it is only right to declare explicitly that my direct influence upon the volume on nervous states of anxiety which lies before us has been a very slight one. The observations and all the detailed opinions and interpretations are the author's own. My share has been limited to proposing the use of the term 'anxiety hysteria'.[2]

[1] [First published in W. Stekel's *Nervöse Angstzustände und ihre Behandlung*, Berlin and Vienna, 1908, 1–2nd ed. 1912, reprinted G.S., 11, 1925, 259 and G.W., 7, 1941, 467. Freud's preface was not included in the later editions of the work. The present translation is a new one by James Strachey.]

[2] [This was Freud's first published use of the term. He referred to it in the succinct form in his case history of Little Hans (1909) which was produced soon afterwards. Cf. *Standard Ed.*, 10, 11 n.]

I will add that Dr Stekel's work is founded upon rich experience and is calculated to stimulate other physicians into confirming by their own efforts our views on the aetiology of these conditions. His work reveals many unexpected glimpses of the realities of life, which so often lie concealed behind neurotic symptoms and it may well convince our colleagues that the attitude they choose to adopt to the hints and explanations given in these pages cannot be a matter of indifference from the point of view either of their understanding or of their therapeutic efficiency.

VIENNA, *March* 1908

PREFACE TO SÁNDOR FERENCZI'S *PSYCHO-ANALYSIS ESSAYS IN THE FIELD OF PSYCHO-ANALYSIS*[1]

(1910 [1909])

Psycho-analytic research [illegible] various forms of neurosis with a specific causation has endeavoured to trace back [illegible] and the psychical [illegible] with the aid of [illegible] and creates and with the [illegible] in regard [illegible] treatment of neurotic patients [illegible] research makes [illegible] and adoption [illegible] methods [illegible] through many [illegible] and [illegible] But it brings the patient [illegible] strengthening [illegible] there is no cause [illegible] the cures made by this therapeutic method in [illegible]

The author of the following essays, who is [illegible] acquaintance of mine and who [illegible] to an extent that few others are, with all the difficult psychological problems, stands in Hungary [illegible] for creating an interest in psychoanalysis among doctors and men of education in his own country through writings composed in their mother tongue. It is [illegible] with this attempt of his may succeed and [illegible] in gaining [illegible] this new field of work new workers from the body of [illegible] strata

[1] Date of [illegible] first published in a Hungarian translation in *Ferenczi's Zeitschrift*, [illegible] *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek*, No. 4 and ed. [illegible] ed. 8. The German [illegible] reprinted [illegible] The present translation [illegible] is by James Strachey.]

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE *NEUE FREIE PRESSE*

(1903-4)

I

REVIEW OF GEORG BIEDENKAPP'S *IM KAMPFE GEGEN HIRNBACILLEN*[1]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible] English, are by Angela Richards.]

[2] [illegible] Bacilli'), Berlin, 1902.]

author's way of thinking we will not omit to emphasize the very essential point in his assertion that students of the state of mental life during sleep, from which we must relinquish as useless all our previous assumption that sleep reduces the play of mental activity to a minimum and that important processes of unconscious mental life and even mental activity of all sorts continue as the explanation of dreams given by your reviewer demonstrates, even during profound sleep. This unconscious mental activity deserves to be called 'daimonic' but scarcely divine.

III

OBITUARY OF PROFESSOR S. HAMMERSCHLAG

S. HAMMERSCHLAG, who resigned his professorship as a Jewish religious teacher about two years ago, was one of those personalities who possess the gift of leaving ineradicable impressions on the fewer present of their acquaintance. A spark from the same fire which animated the spirit of the great Jewish seers and prophets burned within him and was not extinguished until old age weakened his powers. But the passionate side of his nature was happily tempered by the idealistic humanism of our German classical period with which his mind was filled and his method of instruction was based on the foundation of the philological and classical studies to which he had devoted his own youth. Religious instruction served him merely as a way of approaching, towards the end of the humanities and from the material of Jewish history, the task of training the sensitive youthful hearts of growing people and of making them grow out far beyond the limitations of nationalism or dogma. Those of his pupils who were later already in social life or in their own home gratefully acknowledged the fatherly solicitous friendship shown and were able to perceive

[1] *Neue Freie Presse*, November [illegible] 1904. Morning Edition, p. 8. Freud had been a pupil at Hammerschlag's and had written an obituary notice for the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* (1933), 175, 7 and 85.

generation as self-evident' or as 'nonsensical' ranks with us to-day consciously as nonsensical or self-evident, or if we observe, in a series of well-chosen examples to what a narrowing of the intellectual horizon even important writers must plead guilty, as a result of their mistaken use of superlatives. The exhortation to moderation in judgement and expression at any time serves our author only as a point of departure for further discussions on other errors of thought' from which he singles out for central discussion, finally on a basis of theory, and in the light of all these observations as manifesting the author's honest and vigorous attempt seriously to test the relations of the particular view of the world necessitated by certain discoveries of modern science in particular of the theory of evolution. A number of psychological characteristics of old and very true kinds of heresy have often been satirized but cannot be too frequently repeated. The author has set himself the thankless task 'of improving and converting people' by means of exerting a superior influence, without seeking to move them to laughter by humour or sweeping them along with him by passion. Let us wish him all success.

II

REVIEW OF JOHN BIGELOW'S *THE MYSTERY OF SLEEP*[1]

Solving the mystery of sleep might well have been reserved as a service for a physiologist, however operating with medical arguments and teleological causes. For example it would be an idea unworthy of divine providence to suppose that it would allow human beings to spend a fourth part of their life in spiritual inactivity. Sleep is rather that state in which divine influence penetrates most freely and most effectively into human mentality. But in spite of all objections to the

[1] [*News Free Press*, February 4, 1904, Morning Edition, p. 22. Bigelow, *The Mystery of Sleep*, London and New York, published London, 1897. Bigelow (1817–1911) was an American journalist and diplomat.]

that sympathetic kindness was the fundamental characteristic of his nature. Feelings of gratitude towards a revered teacher undiminished through the course of decades received most dignified expression over his grave from Dr Freeman the historian.

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Sexualtheorie und Traumlehre = Freud, *Beiträge zur Sexualtheorie und zur Traumlehre*, Vienna, 1913.

GENERAL INDEX

This index includes the names of non-technical authors. It also includes the names of technical authors where no reference is made in the text to specific works. For reference to specific technical works, the Bibliography should be consulted. The compilation of the index was undertaken by Mrs. R. S. Partridge.

Abraham, K., 248 n.
'Abreuver', hysterical, 244–4
Absurdity of dreams and fantasies, 70–1, 73, 82–3
Accidents, 178–9, 234
Adler, A. *see also* Bibliography, 99 n., 115
Aesthetic pleasure, 153
Affect, 61, 107–8, 173, 184–5, 232 n. 2, 232 n. 2
Aggressiveness, 162, 186
Altenberg, P., 245 n.
Analogy
  of dreams, 84–6
  verbal, 84–6, 110
Anilingus
  and urethral erotism, 175 and n. 1
  phantasies of, 147, 159, 238
Anal
  erotism, 168–71, 173–5, 220 n.
  theory of birth, 208, 219–20
Analogies
  algebraical equations, 106
  burial of Pompey, 5, 40 and n., 51, 84–5
  portrait of donor in altar-piece, 147
  sun-patch on altered coat, 149
Animals, sexual life of, 138–87, 212–29, 225
Anticathexis, 174 n. 2
Anxiety (*see also* Fear; Phobia), 60 n. 2, 160
  expectant, 123–5
  in obsessional neurosis, 118, 123–4
  the result of repression, 60–1, 194, 203
Anxiety-dreams, 56, 60–1
  for versions, in *Gradiva*, 12–14, 16, 19–20, 37–40, 43
Anxiety hysteria, 250
Arc engraver, L., 150 and n. 1
Aphilia, 60
Arc de cercle, 230
Ariosto, 143
Aschaffenburg, G., 110
Association of ideas, *see* Free association
Attention, 107, 233–4
Auto-erotism (*see also* Masturbation), 133, 161–188–9, 199, 215
  and hysterical attacks, 232–3

Baby equated with faeces, 219–20
Babylon, 74 and n. 4
Bahr, H., 245 n.
Bandi-na. Eva, Countess, 95
bed-wetting, 175 and n. 1
Berlin, 42
Bertgang, Prof. R. in *Gradiva*, 23, 27–8, 30–4, 38–9, 51, 77–7, 81–2
Bertgang, Zoe in *Gradiva*, 21–5 *passim*
  in role of physician, 21–2, 29, 37, 69–70, 84–5, 87–90
Bleuler, E., 253–4
Bolgatin, J., 254–5
Biological factors in sexuality, 133, 199
Birth, infantile theories of, 35–6, 196, 208, 214–15, 218–20, 223–5
  anal, 208, 219–20
Bisexuality, *see also* Masculine and feminine, 157–8, 164–6, 230

Bleuler, E. (*see also* Bibliography), 100, 104
Blood
  fear of, and menstruation, 222
  -making theory of 'being married', 222–3
Boys
  attitude to parents, 230
  attribution of penis to females, 213 n.
Breuer, J., 116
Breuer, J. (*see also* Bibliography), 54, 89, 108, 116, 235 n. 2
Brooding, 136, 218–19
Burghölzli Hospital, 98
Burial as symbol of repression, 5, 40 n., 51, 83–5
Buttocks, 173

Capri, 15, 23, 39
Case
  of bisexuality in hysterical attacks, 166, 230
  of *Dora*, 5, 101 n. 1, 105 n. 1, 242 n. 1
  of *Frau Emmy von N.*, 104
  of '*Little Hans*', 134–5, 207–8, 214, 215 n. 1 and 3, 217 n., 218 n. 2, 220 n. 1, 250 n. 2
  of obsessional girl rinsing a basin, 120
  of '*Rat Man*', 40 n., 116, 126 n. 2, 168, 200 n. 1, 214 n. 1
  of '*Wolf Man*', 168, 220 n., 221 n.
  of woman subject to compulsions, 120–2
  of young mathematician, 36
Castration
  complex, 208, 216–17
  threat, 208, 217
Cathartic therapy, 89, 136
Censorship, 58–9, 235
Cerri, 11, 91
Character
  and anal erotism, 169–73, 175
  effect of masturbation on, 199–200
  effect of sexual abstinence on, 196
Charcot, J.-M., 54
Chastity (*see* Sexual abstinence
Charamonti, Museo, 95
Childhood impressions
  conscious, 209
  re activated, 230
  repressed, 30–6, 38, 40, 46–52, 58–9, 209, 230
Children (*see also* Infantile)
  and parents, 212–14, 224, 237–241
  capacity for love in, 134
  compared to neurotics, 143
  component instincts in, 215, 219, 221, 223–4
  play of, 103, 144–6, 152, 223, 238
  sexual enlightenment of, 131–9, 224 b
  sexual researches of, 132–6, 207–8, 209–10 b
Chronological reversal
  in dreams, 230–1
  in hysterical attacks, 230–1
Civilization
  conflict between instincts and, 127, 179–80, 185–203, 252
  increasing demands of, on individuals, 183–4
  purpose of, frustrated by neurosis, 202–3
  sexual morality imposed by, 180–2, 185–201, 204
Classical antiquity
  and belief in ghosts, 16
  and hermaphrodites, 216
  and money, 174
  and religion, 127
  and understanding of dreams, 7–8
Cleanliness, 169 n., 172–3
Clitoris, 217
Cloacal theory of birth, 208, 219–220
Complex
  castration, 208, 217
  nuclear, of neurosis, 214
  Oedipus, 214 n. 1
  use of term, 100–2
Complexes, theory of, 104–114, 186, 210, 23
Component instincts, 79, 88, 124–5, 131, 162–4, 170–1, 175, 187, 190

in children, 215, 219, 221, 223–4
Compromise formations
phantasies as, 52, 58
speeches as, 85
symptoms as, 52–4, 58, 67, 75, 85–6, 90, 125–6, 164–5
Compulsions (*see also* Obsessional acts), 119–23
Condensation
in dreams, 76
in hysterical attacks, 229–30
Conflict
between civilization and instincts, 127, 179–80, 185–203, 252
psychical, 52–4, 58, 66–7, 69, 124, 214
Conscience, 119
Conscientiousness, obsessional, 118–19, 124
Consciousness
admissibility to, 80, 90, 160
ambiguity as a link between the unconscious and, 85–6
exclusion from, by repression, 47–8, 58, 79, 89, 102–3, 108
psycho-analysis brings repressed material into, 89, 173
Constipation, 173
Contraception, 194, 200
Conversion, hysterical, 162–3
Copernicus, 245
Coprophilia, 219
Couvade, 223–4
Creative writers, 9, 42–4, 46, 54, 91–2, 94, 142–5, 246
compared to children, 143–5
compared to day-dreamers, 149–53
dreams, as treated by, 7–9, 42, 52
Crime, psychology of, 102, 108, 111–13
Criminal and society, 187
Criticism renounced by patient, in psycho-analysis, 118–9

Darwin, 245
Day-dreams (*see also* Phantasies), 45–48, 51–3, 219, 223
ambitious in males, erotic in females, 159, 258
creative writing compared to, 149–53
wish-fulfilment in, 147–9, 238
Day's residues, 57, 73–4, 76–7, 93
Death, fear of, 203
Defaecation, pleasure in (*see also* Constipation; Faecal pertinences; Faeces), 170, 171 n. 2, 173–5
Defence
obsessional acts as, 123–5
religious observances as, 123–4
Degeneracy, 45, 210
Dekker, E. D. (*see also Multatuli*), 132–3, 193 n., 246
Delusions
absurdity of, 70–1
ambiguity of, 84–6
compared to dreams, 54–5, 58, 62–83, 86
distortion in, 80
genesis and development of, 22, 44–7, 51–9, 61–2, 65–70, 76–81, 91
'grain of truth' in, 80–1
hysterical, 45 n.
paranoic, 45–6, 59, 162
symbolism of, 44.
therapy of, 22, 37–9, 46, 51, 60, 65, 67–9, 92
Dementia praecox, 236 n.
Descent of Man (by *Darwin*), 245
Destructiveness, 64–5, 210
Dettmer, F., 248 n.
Devil, the, personifies repressed instinctual life, 199 and n.
Disgust, 17
Displacement
from back to front, 172 n.
in dreams, 58, 126
in obsessional symptoms, 126
of psychical values, in religion, 126
of sexual instinct, 187–8
Distortion
in delusions, 81
in dreams, 58–9, 61, 73–4, 81, 149, 160, 229

Dissertation on
[illegible]
in phantasies, 50, 58
Doctor Faust (by *Zola*), 246
'*Dora*', case of, 5, 101 n. 1, 105 n. 1, 232 n. 1
Dostoevsky, 228, 234 n. 1
Dream-content, manifest, 57–61, 67, 73, 76–7, 81–2, 160, 163 n. 1
Dream-interpretation, 7–8, 81–3, 148, 229, 245
technique of, 41, 59–62, 64, 73–4, 110–11, 229
Dreams (*see also* Anxiety-dreams)
absurdity of, 79, 82–3
altered in repetition, 110–11
and delusions, 54–5, 58, 62, 83, 86
and phantasies, 148–9, 159–60
and sensory stimuli, 8, 13, 55–6
and the unconscious, 252, 255
chronological reversal in, 230–1
condensation in, 76
displacement in, 58, 226
distortion in, 58–9, 61, 73–4, 81, 149, 160, 225
Freud's of Villa Seserno, 4 n. 2
identification in, 74
in fiction, 7–9, 41, 62
mental disturbances and, 55
Norbert Hanold's first, in *Gradiva*, 12–16, 19–20, 25, 41, 52–62, 66–8, 70, 79–80, 88, 93
Norbert Hanold's second, in *Gradiva*, 25, 72–8, 81–3, 97
of 'woman with a penis', 216
sense of reality in, 57–9
speeches in, 74
understanding of, in classical antiquity, 7–8
wish-fulfilment in, 5, 7–8, 61–2, 91–3, 149
Dream-symbols (*see* Symbols
[illegible]
73, 76, 82, 92–3, 110–11, 163 n. 1
Dream-work 83, 163 n. 1 230
Dukatenesthiasser, 1–4
Education (*see also* Sexual enlightenment of children), 171, [illegible]
Ego equated with hero in fiction, 50–1, 159
Ego-instincts, 127, 2[illegible]
Ehrenfels, C. von (*see also* Bibliography), 204
Eimer, G. H. T., 23, 75, 76
Einstein, A., 180
Emmy von N., Frau, case of, 10
Empathy, 45
Emperor and Empress as dream-[illegible]
'Entopsychic' perception, 5
Enuresis, 175 and n. 1
Epilepsy, 228, 234
Erotogenic zones (*see also* Anal erotism; Oral erotism), 133, [illegible]
Error, 80–1
Este, Cardinal Ippolito d', 143 and n.

Fackel, Die, 200
Faecal incontinence (*see also* Defaecation), 170
Faeces, 168, 170, 171 n. 2, 174 and n. 1 and 4
equated with baby, 219–20
equated with money, 168, 173–4
Fairy tales, 152, 174 and n. 4, 211, 219–20, 252
Falsified perception, 216
'Family romance', 236–41
effect of sexual enlightenment on, 239
Faust (*Goethe*), 245
Fear (*see also* Anxiety, neurotic; Phobias
of blood, 222–3
of death
Fécondité (by *Zola*), 246
[illegible] (*see* Masculine and feminine
Ferenczi, S. (*see also* Bibliography), 25n.
[illegible]
[illegible]
Fixation of sexual instinct, 187, 189, 216

Flirst, Wilhelm, 3–4, 101 *n.* 2 151 *n.*, 157, 164 *n.*, 168, 173 *n.* 3, 174 *n.* 1, 180, 184 *n.*, 187 *n.*, 191 *n.* 2, 2 8 *n.* 1, 232 *n.* 1, 236, 240 *n.*
Flight, 42, 67
'Flight into illness', 192, 2 2 212 *n.* 1
Florence, 95
Foot-fetishism, 45–6
Forel, A., 245 *n.*
Fore-pleasure, 153 and *n.*
Forgetting
always has a reason, 2 109
and repression, 34, 48–9, 47
France, Anatole, 246
Free association
and children's games, 103
experiments, 100, 103–7, 109–11, 1 3–14
in psycho-analytic technique, 79, 89, 108–9
Freudlinge unter den Menschen (by *W. Jensen*), 95
Friedjung, Dr., 256
Frigidity in women, 198, 201–2, 217
Frustration, 188 *n.* 1, 194
Fürst, Dr. M., 129–31

Gain from illness, primary and secondary, 231–2, 232 *n.* 1
Genitals (*see also* Castration Clitoris; Penis; Vagina
primacy of, 133–4, 1 –
stimulation of, in infancy, 133, 1 0–1, 188, 215, 217
Ghosts, belief in, 16–19, 26, 30–1, 70–1
Girls
hysterical attacks in, 233–4
penis-envy in, 2 8
sexual researches of, 198–9, 223
God the Father, 127
Goethe, 146 *n.* 1, 173, 245
Gomperz, T., 246
Götz von Berlichingen (*Goethe*), 173
Gradiva (by *W Jensen*), 142, 248
as a psychiatric study, 3–5, 41–62, 64–95
Jung and, 9–10, 91
story summarized, 6–40
Graves' disease, 71–2
Griechische Denker (by *Gomperz*), 246
Gross, Hans, 36
Guilt, sense of, 113, 125, 171 *n.* 2
unconscious, 123 and *n.*

Hallucination, negative, 67
Hamburg, 30
Hamlet, 3, 6, 17, 245
Handwörterbuch, Pro, S., 255–6
Harnold, Norbert (in *Gradiva*), 10–93 *passim*
dreams of, 12–14, 16, 19–20, 25, 41, 52–62, 66–8, 70, 72–85, 88, 93
'*Hans, Little*', case of, 194–5, 207–8, 214, 215 *n.* 2 and 3, 217 *n.*, 218 *n.* 2, 220 *n.*, 250 *n.* 2
Hartleben, Otto (in *Gradiva*), 24–8, 38, 69, 74–5, 83–4
Hedonism, 204
Heine, 245
Heller, Hugo, 142, 249 *n.*, 248 *n.*
Hereditary factors in neurosis, 45, 53, 185–6
Hermaphrodites, 2 6
Hero in fiction and day-dreams, 149–51, 153
Hesitation an expression of resistance, 109–10
Hesse, H., 245 *n.*
Hirschfeld, M., 157
Hoffmannsthal, Hugo von, 245 *n.*
Homer, 245
Homosexuality, 164–5, 175, 189–90, 200–1, 208, 2 6–7
Honeymoon couples, horror of (in *Gradiva*), 15–16, 24–8, 39, 65, 67–8, 5, 88
Horace, 35
House-flies, horror of (in *Gradiva*), 15–16, 65
Humour, 145
Hunderte deutsche Tage (by *C. F. Meyer*), 149–7
'Hypnoid states', 235–4
Hypnotic suggestion, 173
Hysteria, 53–4, 186, 234, 250
Hysterical
'absences', 233–4

Hysterical (*cont.*)
attacks, 124, 229–34
compensatory formations, 217–218
conversions, 166 n. 1
delusions, 60 n.
phobias, 57–60, 229–31
possession, 174 n. 1
symptoms, nature of, 163–5

Identification
in dreams, 74
[illegible]
Imago (*see also* Bibliography), 85
Immortality of the soul, 139
Incentive bonus, 153
Incest, 180
Incestuous impulses, 240
'Indirect representation', 170
Infantile sexual theories, 134–8, 207–8, 211–26
of birth, 135–6, 138, 208, 212–15, 218–20, 223–5
of distinction between the sexes, 134–5, 135 n. 2, 208–11, 212–18
of sexual intercourse, 136, 208, 218–19, 225
Infantile sexuality, 46–9, 124–5, 133–4, 164, 171 n. 2, 188–99, 209–11, 215, 217, 233
Instincts (*see also* Component instincts; Ego-instincts; Sexual instinct)
conflict between civilization and, 127, 179–80, 185–201, 252
repression of, 53–4, 89–90, 124
Instinctual impulse, 124
Intellectual curiosity and sexual researches of children, 149, 218–219, 224
Intermediate ideas, 33–4, 34 n.
Interpretation of dreams (*see* Dream-interpretation)
Inversion (*see* Homosexuality)

Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen, 87
Janet, Pierre (*see also* Bibliography), 54
Jealousy
of younger child, 212–13
sexual, 24–5, 38, 77, 79–80, 88, 104
Jensen, W., author of *Gradiva* (*see also* Bibliography), 9–95
passim, 248 n.
correspondence with *Freud*, 4
other stories by, 94–5
Jesus Christ, 35
Jokes, 145, 153 n.
Jones, Ernest (*see also* Bibliography), 248 n.
Jung, C. G. (*see also* Bibliography), [illegible]
and *Freud*, 4, 99–100, 168
and *Gradiva*, 4, 9–10, 95
and theory of complexes, 210
[illegible]
Jungle Book, The (by *Kipling*), 246

Keller, G., 246
King Lear, 43
Kipling, R., 246
Kiss equated with sexual intercourse, 223
Klein, J., 106
Kraepelin, E., 100
Kraus, Karl, 200 and n.

Latency period, 171, 180
Lazarus (by *Hulme*), 245
Legal evidence
Jung's study of, 100
unreliability of, 103
[illegible] 152, 174 n. 1 and 2,
[illegible]
[illegible] by Weichbrodt
[illegible]
[illegible] *Imago* Prize
[illegible]
Leave [illegible] by *C. Keller*
[illegible]
[illegible] Sexual instinct
discharged in form of symptoms, [illegible] 4 [illegible] 2, 134
repression of, 60–1
sublimation of, 162
Linguistic usage (*see also* Verbal), 148, 148, 173–4

'Little Hans' (*see* 'Hans, Little')
Little Red Riding Hood, 2 9
Lizard as dream-symbol, 72–3, 75–7, 83, 87
Löffler, Professor, 99, 103
Love (*see also* Object-love), 22, 90, 234
and marriage, 194, 196, 200–3
children's capacity for, 194

Maeterlinck, M., 246
Magnetism, 17, 245
Mach, E., 245 n.
Macpherson, 4
Man a, 220
Marriage, 124–5, 184, 191–203, 221–3
children's theories of, 222–3
Masaryk, T., 245 n.
Masculine and feminine (*see also* Boys, Girls; Men; Women), 79, 217, 220 and n., 234
Masochism, 93, 162
Masturbation (*see also* Auto-erotism), 161–2, 199–200, 224, 232
effect of, on character, 199–200
enuresis equated with, 175 n. 1
phantasies, 161, 166, 200
Mathematics and sexuality, 36
Melusine, 119
Memories, repressed, 30–6, 38, 40, 46–52, 57–9, 88–9, 209, 230
Menstruation, 34
Meynert, T.
Meyer, C. F., 145 n. 246–7
Micturition (*see also* Enuresis), 165, 167, 225
involuntary, 233
Milton, 245
Miserliness and anal erotism, 168–9, 171, 173, 175
Mnemic symbols, hysterical symptoms as, 163
Moll, Albert, 220
Money
equated with dirt, 173–4
equated with faeces, 168, 173–4
Monogamy, 181–2, 194–6, 201–3
Morality
aesthetic, 254
double, 182, 195
in education of children, 236–9, 174, 214
sexual, imposed by civilization, 180–2, 185–204
Mutatuli (alias *E. D. Dekker*; *see also* Bibliography), 132–3, 233 n., 246
Multiple identification, 230
Munich, 95
Mutterschutz, 179
Myers, 135, 152, 174 and n. 4, 211, 213, 217, 238, 252
on phantasies of nations, 252

Naples, 15, 17, 65
Nerga (Queen of the Underworld), 174 n. 4
Neue Freie Presse, 253–6
Neurasthenia, 184–6
Neuroses (*see also* Hysteria, Obsessional neurosis)
and family romances, 237–40
and the pressure of civilization, 82–5
and unconscious mental processes, 54, 89–90
as 'negative' of perversions, 189, 191
frustrate the purpose of civilization, 202–3
hereditary factors in, 45, 53, 85–6
nuclear complex of, 214
phantasies as precursors of, 148
'proper' and psychoneuroses distinguished, 185–6
sexual aetiology of, 5, 89–90, 131, 134, 136, 182, 185–6, 188–204, 250
Neurotics
compared to children, 213
compared to normal persons, 210–11

Psychoneuroses, *see* Neuroses
Psychoses, *see also* Dementia praecox, Manic-depressive psychosis, 48, 243
Puberty, 193–4, 171, 210, 217, 234, 238

Rank, *see also* Bibliography, 248 n.
'*Rat Man*', case of, 40 n., 116, 126 n. 2, 168, 200 n. 1, 214 n.
Reaction
  change of content in, 105–7, 110
  mistakes in reproducing, 107, 110
  formations, 171–2, 175
  time, 107, 109
Reason
  flight from, 291
  physiology and, 144, 146
  play and, 44–5
  sense of, in dreams, 57–9
Religion
  and suppression of instinctual impulses, 125–7, 187, 252
  displacement of psychical values in, 127
  prohibition of thought about, 99
  psychology of, 116–17
  symbolism of, 119, 122, 124–5
Religious observances compared to obsessional acts, 117–20, 122–7
Repression
  memories, 30–6, 38, 40, 46–52, 57–9, 68–9, 209, 230
  motives, 52, 71, 122
  return of the, 35–6, 90, 111, 233
  sexual knowledge, 214, 218–19, 225
  wish, 93, 138, 148–9
Retrogression
  [illegible] neurosis, 88
  and dreams, [illegible] n. 1
  and phantasies, 161–2
  and theory of complexes, 101–2, 186, 231
  as exclusion from consciousness, 47–8, 58, 79, 93, 101–2, 108
  compared to burial of Pompeii, 5, 40 and n., 51, 84–5
  in saints and ascetics, 35
  sexual, 36, 54, 60–1, 89–90, 112, 124–7, 164–5, 170–1, 180, 186, 199, 217
  theory of, 35–6, 49 and n., 53–4, 90–1, 100, 293 +
Reproductive function, 194, 188–9, 194, 203–4
Resistance
  conscious and unconscious, 112–13
  to psycho-analysis, 109–10, 112
  to be repressed, 58–9, 62–3
Revenge, 240
Reversal, in hysterical attacks, 250–1
Richterin, Die (by *C. F. Meyer*), 3–4
Riklin, F. (*see also* Bibliography), 248 n.
Ritual (*see* Religious observances)
Roman Emperors, excesses of, 162
Rome, 10, 15, 17, 65, 95
Rops, Félicien, 35
Rote Schirm, Der (by *W. Jensen*), 9–10
Rousseau, J.-J., 36

Sacrifice, 187 and n.
Sadger, J. (*see also* Bibliography), 248 n.
Sadism, 162, 218
  of parental intercourse, 208, 210
Schultzer, A., 245 n.
Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde, 248–9
Screen-phantasy, 171 n. 2
'Secular dreams', 152
Sensation, 224
Sensory stimuli and dreams, 8, 13, 55–6
Sexual abstinence, 190, 193–4, 196–7, 199–201
Sexual aetiology of the neuroses, 5, 89–90, 131, 134, 136, 182, 185–6, 188–204, 250
Sexual aim, 171, 175, 187, 189, 195, 208

Neurotics (*cont.*)
psycho-analysis of, 107–19, 120, 146, 162–6, 173–5, 209–10, 225–6, 229, 252
Nuclear complex of neurosis, 214

Object-love, 161, 188–9
Obsessional acts
apparent senselessness of, 118, 120–1, 125–6
as defence mechanisms, 123–5
compared to religious observances, 117–20, 122–7
displacement in, 126
sexual significance of, 120–2, 126–7
Obsessional brooding, 136
Obsessional neurosis, 53–4, 108, 116–27, 168, 186
Obstinacy and anal erotism, 169, 171, 173, 175
Occupus-complex, 214 n. 1
Oedipus Rex, 3, 195
Omnipotence, sense of, 186
Opposite, representation by, in hysterical attacks, 230–1
Oral
erotism, 170–1, 223
theories of sexual intercourse, 208, 223
Orderliness and anal erotism, 169, 171–2, 175
Orlando Furioso, 43 n.
Overdetermination
in phantasies, 51–2
of symptoms, 85
Overvaluation, 241

Paradise Lost, 245
Paranoia, 45 and n., 71, 159, 162, 236
Parental intercourse, 208, 220–2
Parents and children, 212–14, 224, 237–41
Penis
attributed to both sexes, 208, 215–18
envy, 218
'woman with a', 208, 215–18
Perception
endopsychic', 51
falsified, 216
Perversion, 134, 159, 162, 189–92, 200–1
as 'positive' of neurosis, 189, 191
Pfister, O., 248 n.
Phantasies *see also* Day dreams, 252
as dream-screens, 144–9, 159–60
as compromise-formations, 52, 58
as substitute for play, 144–6, 152
as wish-fulfilment, 146–8, 151–2, 159, 161, 236
distortion in, 50, 58
erotic, 147, 159, 231
hysterical, 157–66, 229–31
masturbatory, 161, 166, 200
of ambition, 147, 159, 238
of 'family romance', 239–41
precursors of delusions, 44–5, 58
precursors of neurosis, 148
repressed memories as source of, 41–4–5, 48, 49–51, 57–8
screen-, 171 n. 2
temporal aspect of, 147–8, 151
unconscious, 160–6, 229
Phobias (*see also* Fear), 124, 228
Play of children, 103, 143–6, 152
Pleasure
and sexual instinct, 188
religion demands renunciation of, 127
Pompeii, 4–5, 95 passim
repression symbolized by the burial of, 5, 40 and n., 51, 84–5
Prague, 106
Prévost, Marcel, 225
Primal scene, 208, 220–2
Primary process, 34 n
Psycho-analysis
compared to excavation of Pompeii, 5, 40
criticisms of, 209
of neurotics (*see* Neurotics)
therapeutic aspect of, 5, 89–91, 111–12, 122, 173, 251–2
Psycho-analytic technique, 37–8, 85–6, 89–90, 107–12, 162, 209
Psychoanalytische Bewegung, Die, 4

Sexual behaviour sets the pattern for other modes of reaction, 198–200
Sexual development, retardation of, 196–8
Sexual enlightenment of children age for, 131, 137–8, 224–5
by other children, 224
in school, 138–9
manner of, 131, 137–8, 224
necessity for, 131–7
reaction to, 225–6
Sexual excitation, 193–4, 170–1, 188–91, 220
Sexual frigidity in women, 198, 201–2, 217
Sexual instincts (*see also* Libido), 191–2, 197–98
displacement of, 187–9
repression of (*see* Repression, sexual)
varying intensity of, 210–11
Sexual intercourse, 181, 189, 1[illegible] 214
[illegible] functions of, 136, 208, 218, 220–9, 225–6
parental, 200, 220–2
Sexual life of animals, 198, 187, 215, 219, 225
Sexual researches of children, 132–138, 198–9, 207–8, 220–26
and intellectual curiosity, 199, 218–19, 224
Sexual satisfaction, 161–4, 188, 193–4, 198–201, 233
Sexus–Problems, 179, 207
Shakespeare, 3, 8, 17, 45, 245
Shame, 171
Sleep, 8–9, 62, 254
Slips of the tongue, 105
Sophocles, 3, 245
Speeches
as compromise formations, 85
in dreams, 74
Spitteler, [illegible] of the [illegible]
Stekel (*see also* Bibliography), 167
Stimulants (*see* Intensity of stimuli)
Storfer, [illegible] *f.*, 148 n.
Stork fable of birth, 136, 138–9, 224–5
Sublimation, 161, 171, 175, 187, 190, 193, 195, 197
Sucking and breast, 133, 195
Suggestion, hypnotic, 173
Superstition, 7–8, 174
Sur la pierre blanche (by *A. France*), 244
Symbol
burial as, 5, 40 n., 51, 83–5
Emperor and Empress as, 24
hazard as, 72–3, 75–7, 83, 93
the past as, 85
Symbolism
of delusions, 40
of hysterical symptoms, 169
of obsessional acts, 120–1, 126
of religious ceremonials, 119, 122
Symptom-[illegible] actions, 65
Symptoms
and phantasies, 148, 157, 159–65
as compromise-formations, 52–4, 58, 67, 75, 85–6, 90, 125–6, 164–5
curability of, 111, 164
genesis of, 90, 108, 159–62, 194, 201, 223
wish-fulfilment in, 163

Tongue-biting hysterical, 233
Torquato Tasso (*Goethe*), 146 n. 1
Toxic factors, 185
Transference, 97
Traumatic experience, 163
Twain, Mark, 246

[illegible] (*see* Unconscious, the)
Unconscious, the, 53, 63, 85–6, 89–90, 92, 124, 149, 191
defined in terms of repression, 48
frontier between consciousness and, 90, 112
Unconscious
mental processes, 47–9, 52–4, 60, 63, 66, 75–86, 101, 106, 209–275
motives, 71, 122
sense of guilt, 123 and n.
wish, 93, 103, 148–9
Unpleasure, 112–13, 188
Urethral erotism, 170–1, 175 n. 1

Vagina, 218–19, 224
Van Houten's cocoa, 171 n. 2
Venus, 68
Verbal
  ambiguity, 81–6, 113
  bridges, 37, 42, 51, 89, 171 n. 2, 225
Vesuvius, 12, 20, 68, 71
Vienna, 99, 100, 108
Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society, 116, 130, 142, 228
Verbrodt, Pastor G., 126

Waking life and dreams, 8–9, 62–3
Wassermann, J., 245 n.
Wertheimer, M., 106
Wish, repressed, 93, 108, 148–9
Wish-fulfilment
  in day-dreams, 147–9, 238
  in dreams, 5, 7–8, 61–2, 91–3, 149
  in phantasies, 146–8, 151–2, 159, 161, 230
  in symptoms, 163
'*Wolf Man*', case of, 168, 220 n., 224 n.
'Woman with a penis', 208, 216–18
Women (*see also* Girls; Masculine and feminine)
  and childbirth, 198
  and marriage, 194–5, 197–8, 203
  and motherhood, 202
  frigidity in, 198, 203, 217
  hysteria in, 159, 166, 234
  'intellectual inferiority' of, 130
  sexual instinct in, 147, 191–2, 195, 197–9
Wundt, W., 100, 103

Zeus, Dr, 43
Ziehen, T., 100 and n.
Zola, 53, 246
Zurich school, 100–1, 134

APR 15 1970